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ABSTRACT

This report provides a demographic analysis of immigration to the United States and California, using information from the Immigration and Naturalization Service annual reports and digital database for 1990-98. It features details on the Asian immigrant population for the 1990s. From 1820-1998, about 62 million immigrants came to America. Nearly 20 percent of them who ever came arrived from 1980-98. The nearly seven million immigrants who arrived between 1990-98 are largely from Latin America, Asia, and Europe. New immigrants are mainly female and around 30 years old. The overall story of immigration in the 1990s is one of growing magnitudes and accentuation of patterns set in the 1980s. During the 1990s, California attracted 1.8 million of the country's 6.9 million immigrants. California's immigrants are unique in that they are mainly recent arrivals. California's immigrant population favors specific locations, particularly Los Angeles county and the Bay area. Asians comprise one of the country's largest sources of documented immigrants, with a regional concentration in California. Asian immigrants are similar to the larger documented immigrant population. Asian immigration in the 1990s targeted mainly California, New York, Texas, and New Jersey. The rate of citizenship among Asian immigrants has increased annually. Many immigrants hold dual or multiple citizenship. (SM)

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Two Decades of Immigration: Has the Sky Fallen Yet?

ALI MODARRES, PH.D.

Introduction[1]

Over the last two decades, a large number of new immigrants have declared the United States as their new home. While the 1980s was heralded as the decade of immigration and held a demographic fascination for policymakers, social pundits, and old-fashioned nationalists who still insist on the validity of political boundaries, the 1990s surpassed the previous decade in an elevated immigration rate, which shows no sign of diminishing. The United States and many other countries in the world are becoming the economic and political destination for over 125 million individuals who live outside their countries of birth[2]. During the entire decade of the 1980s, 5.9 million people immigrated to the U.S., while from 1990 to 1998, 6.9 million did so. Obviously, the story of immigration continues on a profound scale; however, as in other historical periods, while the economy shows signs of health, the anti-immigration literature seems to diminish. Therefore, despite the larger magnitude of immigration in the last few years, the majority of recent anti-immigration measures occurred in the latter part of the 1980s and the early 1990s. It is ironic that, contrary to the wishes of the anti-immigrant faction, their most recent sociopolitical posturing coincided with the largest number of immigrants to the U.S. in any one year since the second decade of the twentieth century. In 1996, when close to one million immigrants were processed by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), little was heard about this watershed event from the national preservationists.

This report is an attempt to provide a demographic analysis of the state of immigration to the U.S. and California, using information from the INS annual reports and digital database, for the period of 1990 to 1998. Since Asian immigration has captured the imaginations of demographers and policymakers, this report will also provide a detailed analysis of this population for the 1990s.

The data utilized in this publication were made available in part by the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, through the Social Science Database Archive at CSLA. The data for Immigrants Admitted to the United States were originally collected by the U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service. Neither the collectors of the original data nor the Consortium bears any responsibility for the analyses or interpretations presented here.

[1] I am indebted to the hard work of two graduate students in the Department of Geography and Urban Analysis, who prepared the data files for California and most of the tables for the Asian immigration to the U.S. Natallie Jolly and Matthew Kelly were instrumental in making this project happen. However, I will exempt them from any responsibility for the accuracy or interpretation of the data.

[2] Martin, Philip and Widgren, Jonas, 1996. "International Migration: A Global Challenge." *Population Bulletin*, Volume 51, Number 1.

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Patterns and Magnitudes[3]

From 1820, the first year for which we have immigration data, to 1998, about 62 million immigrants adopted the U.S. as their home (see Figure 1). To be sure, not all of these individuals have sought or received U.S. citizenship, but a significant majority have never returned to their country of birth. The significance of the last two decades lies in the fact that close to 20 percent of all immigrants who have ever put foot on American soil arrived during the period of 1980 to 1998. These 12.8 million individuals represent the new "peopling" phase in the dynamics of American demography. Unlike their early 20th century predecessors, they are mainly from Latin American and Asian countries. Fueled by a growing post-WW II economy and a shift in immigration policy, the new immigrants have arrived in the U.S. to fill a range of niches from professional to industrial and service sector jobs.

Geographically speaking, what distinguishes the last two decades is the prominence of California as the intended state of residence for most immigrants (see Figure 2). From 1980 to 1998, California's share of annual U.S. immigration averaged slightly over 26 percent (see Figure 3). Within this emerging geography, the traditional urban destination of immigrants has translated into the formation of a new Ellis Island in the greater Los Angeles area, which was chosen as home by slightly over 10 percent of annual immigrants to the U.S. from 1983-1998 (see Figure 4).

As Figure (5) indicates, from 1990 to 1998, California, New York, and Florida each attracted more than half a million immigrants. The top five states for the 1990s immigrants' residence, which include the three above-mentioned states, in addition to Texas and New Jersey, have attracted close to 4.5 million, or over 60 percent, of all immigrants to the U.S. Among them, California and New York remain the leading states in attracting the immigrant population, with Florida gradually increasing in importance (see Figure 6 and Table 1).

Regionally, eastern states continue to attract a large portion of the immigrant population (see Table 1); however, California appears to be the manifest destiny of new Americans. During this period, seven western states (i.e., Washington, Idaho, Utah, Arizona, Nevada, California and Oregon) attracted close to one-third of all immigrants to the U.S. Of course, as indicated earlier, the 1.8 million California immigrants made up close to 26 percent of all U.S. immigrants in less than ten years. California is, in fact, an anomaly in the western region, and its position as a point of entrance and even as a secondary migration destination for the immigrant population has become increasingly more important.

Juxtaposed against this geography is the relative absence of immigration to the midwestern and some of the mountain states. Ironically, the states with the lowest immigration rates have become home to a growing migrating population from other states (see Figure 7). As immigrants increase their presence in major American cities, the so-called "white flight" has ensued. This is especially true in Los Angeles, where the number of foreign-born population exceeded one-third of the population in 1990, and is estimated to have reached over 40 percent by 2000. The estimated decline of the non-Hispanic white population indicates that counties with the largest loss of this group in the U.S. are: Los Angeles, California; Cook, Illinois; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Kings, New York; and Queens, New York. Conversely, the top five counties in gaining a non-Hispanic white population are: Maricopa, Arizona; Clark, Nevada; Collin, Texas; Gwinnett, Georgia; and Wake, North Carolina. With the exception of Maricopa County, the other four counties had a total population of less than a million, and their white population ratio in 1990 ranged from 77 to 98 percent.

The divergent geography of large immigrant cities and smaller to midsize cities, which have become the destination for "white flight," has produced an interesting spatial pattern of race and ethnicity, where inland states are becoming the post-modern suburbs of the coastal states (see Figure 8). In an inverted way, the periphery of the social system is moving inward to contain the fragmented economy of the post-industrial era within the whiter walls of an agrarian-urban disengagement.

[3] INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service) data, released through ICPSR (Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research), is the sole source of annual immigration information for this report. Readers should be aware that these annual reports do not include any data on those who have been processed under the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986. While this shortcoming is detrimental to an understanding of the true nature of immigration, it should be understood that the IRCA was a temporary measure; therefore, for the purpose of multi-year analysis it may introduce some anomalies. Regardless, the temporality of this immigration measure is evidenced by the fact that, while in 1991 there were over 900,000 individuals who were processed under this Act, by 1998, the corresponding numbers had decreased to less than 1,000.

During the 1990s, large urban areas traveled down the path of becoming, demographically, minority majority spaces. However, with the departure of the white population to the American hinterlands, one has to wonder if that journey is less of an abdication and more of an excommunication of minorities.

National Origins and Demographic Composition

The nearly seven million immigrants who arrived in the U.S. between 1990 and 1998 are largely from Latin America, Asia, and Europe. Table (2) provides information on the top 10 countries of origin[4] per annum. These countries provided over half of all immigrants to the U.S. in each year. Among them, Mexico, with a total of over 900,000, is the single largest source of immigration. This is followed by the Philippines, China, Vietnam, India, and the Dominican Republic, which appear on every annual top-10 list. These six countries supplied close to 3.8 million immigrants from 1990 to 1998, over 40 percent of the total U.S. immigration in this period. Four of the top six countries are Asian, and, as such, the 1990s can be characterized as the era of Asian immigration. Collectively, the Philippines, China, Vietnam, and India provided close to 1.6 million of the immigrants since 1990. This is close to 23 percent of all immigrants to the U.S.

During the 1990s, the rate of non-quota admittance covered close to two-thirds of all immigrants (see Table 3). This poses a question regarding the relevance of the national quotas retained in the 1965 Immigration Act. Rooted in the turn-of-the-century anti-immigration movement, the 1924 Immigration Act had become the way to control the national source of immigration to the U.S. While the 1965 Immigration Act used the quota language, its basic philosophical underpinning was to shift immigration from a purely supply-driven phenomenon to a demand-driven one. As such, the need for skilled labor and the assumption that the Asian population was aptly poised for such a niche led to the 1965 Immigration Act, which in its final language shifted the hemispheric limitation in favor of Asian countries. However, three decades after the adoption of this Act, we can observe that the original intent has been supplanted by the true nature of immigration, which is driven mainly by family reunification. Based on the 1965 Immigration Act and various initiatives passed since then, in any given year, up to 270,000 immigrants are admitted under the preference system that controls numerically limited immigration[5,6]. However, it is obvious that, during the 1990s, annual immigration far exceeded the arbitrary upper limit. The percent of immigrants who are exempted from the numerical limitation is reflected in Table (3). These are, by definition, immediate relatives (spouse, minor children, and parents) of U.S. citizens, adjustments of refugees and asylees, and others exempt from numerical limitation, including groups such as ministers and children born abroad to legal permanent residents[7]. Therefore, we can comfortably assume that a majority of non-quota immigrants are, in fact, "family reunification" immigrants. Added to those who arrive under numerical limitation through family reunification preference, it is clear that the 1990s is a continuation in the saga of human migration, which can hardly be confined to neatly defined formulas of immigration demand based on social and economic preferences of the host society.

Demographically speaking, the 1990s immigrants were not very different from those in the 1980s. The new Americans are mainly female (see Figure 9) and around 30 years old. It is interesting that among the 1990s immigrants, women are generally older. As Figure (10) indicates, in almost every year since

[4] This information reflects immigrants' nationalities, as opposed to place of birth, since the latter category can include those who were simply born in a country, but do not have citizenship. The use of "country of chargeability" is also problematic, since the INS uses this category in a manner that may mix and match different nationalities. For the purpose of this document, immigrants' nationality is used primarily to determine the magnitude of immigration from any one country. Country of chargeability was used only when it was necessary to provide information on specific countries that are omitted from the list of national codes.

[5] U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, ICPSR 6164, October 1993. p. 5.

[6] Preferential status is based on either family relationship with U.S. citizens or a legal permanent resident or on needed job skills. Under this system, each immigrant is charged to a specified country. For this purpose, country of chargeability is defined as "... the independent country to which an immigrant entering under numerical limitations is accredited. Independent countries cannot exceed 20,000 immigrants in a fiscal year. Dependencies of independent countries cannot exceed 5,000 of the 20,000 limit. Chargeability is usually determined by country of birth. Exceptions are made to prevent the separation of family members when the limitation for the country has been met." U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, ICPSR 6164, October 1993. pp. 5 and 17.

[7] Ibid, p. 5.

1990, women are, on the average, 1.8 years older than men. Given that the majority of immigrants are women, this points to two possible demographic dimensions. First, most women do not leave their country of birth prior to marriage, and, therefore, the average female has a higher likelihood of being older than her male counterparts (see Figure 11). During the 1990s, the annual average of married women made up 29 percent of the total immigrants in the U.S.[8] For men, this value stood at 22 percent. Clearly, marital status is a determining factor in the immigration prospect of women. As Figure (11) illustrates, single male immigrants were only slightly more numerous than married men (i.e., an annual average difference of under 9000), while married women exceeded single women by an annual average number of 63,000.

The second explanation for the higher average age of female immigrants can be found in family reunification, through which family members other than spouses are brought into the U.S. Immigration of parents can be viewed as a cause for the graying factor in the immigration process. Figure (12) illustrates that women have a larger contribution in each age category except for 0-20. Therefore, as indicated earlier, men are more likely to immigrate to the U.S. at a younger age; however, within adult age groups, family reunification is more likely to bring the extended family, which apparently includes more women than men.

American Immigration Saga

The overall story of immigration in the 1990s is one of growing magnitudes and accentuation of the patterns set in the 1980s. While Mexico continued to be one of the largest sources of legal immigration to the U.S., a number of Asian countries collectively surpassed Mexico's numbers. The Philippines, China, Vietnam, and India became the largest source of immigration in the 1990s, together supplying a total of close to 1.6 million immigrants. During this era, California, especially Los Angeles, continued to be the major geographic destination for over a quarter of all immigrants. Given this level of spatial selectivity, the story of immigration would not be complete without a detailed assessment of California and its competing immigrant populations, Latinos and Asians. The following section provides an analysis of the INS data as it relates to California.

California, Ellis Island of the Late 20th Century

During the 1990s, California attracted 1.8 million of the 6.9 million immigrants to the U.S. With 26.1 percent of all immigrants, California became the capital of immigration and the de facto base for many anti-immigration movements. In the rhetoric developed by the nativists, the nature of California immigration is skewed toward perceptions of despair and poverty, and no answer is provided to how California immigrants may be different from the general pool of immigrants, or whether the apocalyptic images of a Latin invasion are warranted.

As Figures (2) and (3) illustrate, California's immigration ranged from a low of 165,317 in 1995 to a high of 247,253 in 1993. These figures are based on the "state of residence" variable in the INS annual data. With an annual average of slightly over 200,000, California's share of national immigration in the 1990s was very high. Interestingly, the highest rates of immigration occurred in the latter part of the economic downturn and the height of the anti-immigration movement. The decreased immigration rates after 1993, while they can be interpreted as being affected by immigrants' changing perceptions of California, are nonetheless higher than most years during the 1980s. The sharp rise of immigration in the U.S. during 1992, 1993 and 1996 corresponds to a more modest increase in California (see Figure 2). This may be an indication that, despite the typical anti-immigration literature, many immigrants respond to the job market, and, as such, do not saturate a region with unemployment. Figure (3) also illustrates that California's share of national immigration has declined substantially since 1992. However, during 1997 and 1998, California's share returned to its annual average of slightly over 26 percent since 1980.

Tables (4) and (5) provide information on the national make-up of the California immigrants in the 1990s. Comparing these tables with Tables (2) and (3) provides an interesting perspective. The most striking feature is that, despite an average national share of 26 percent for all immigrants, California's share of top 10 nationalities is substantially higher. For example, among documented Mexican immigrants, California attracted over 45 percent of the arriving population from 1990 to 1998. Similar figures for Filipinos, Chinese, and Vietnamese are 44.6 percent, 32 percent, and 37.9 percent, respectively. This

[8] The 1998 annual data included a large number of data records that did not provide information on marital status. This year was excluded for the calculation of reported percentages.

indicates that California is the primary destination for some of the largest groups of immigrants. However, it should be noted that a selected number of immigrants, who may not be nationally significant in numbers, make up large immigrant populations for California. For example, while Koreans are no longer on the national top 10 list, in California, they were on the top 10 list for all years from 1990 to 1998, with the exception of 1993. The cause for this singular decline can be sought in the civil disorder of 1992, during which Koreans were actively targeted.

The top 10 nationalities also make up a larger proportion of immigrants to California than a comparative group at the national level (compare Tables 2 and 4). By 1998, the top 10 nationalities in California were supplying over 78 percent of all immigrants to California. Given that the percent of non-quota immigrants is similar to the national average (see Table 5), it appears that, regardless of their status, social and demographic composition, certain immigrant populations are focused on California and select this state as their intended place of residence in the U.S. From a sociopolitical perspective, this phenomenon can be interpreted as immigrants creating larger geographic, and hence economic and social presences in this state. In fact, the image of California as an ethnic-immigrant state has not escaped any Californian, or for that matter any American. What is striking is the level to which immigration to the U.S. has become synonymous with immigration to California. This seems to re-emphasize the existing geographies of ethnicity, and as such, can become a point of despair for many nativists. However, regardless of the increasing level of ethnicity and cultural plurality, the economy of California remains as robust as the remainder of the country. Immigration seems to be far from hindering the capitalist outcome. In fact, many immigrants have come here to celebrate the remaining hegemonic form of political economy; therefore, the prosperity of the state is as assured as the capital that these immigrants bring, their ingenuity and entrepreneurial spirit, as well as those investors whose assets have not been baptized in xenophobia.

Demographically, California's immigrants are similar to the overall U.S. immigrant population in this era. In all years since 1990, female immigrants outnumbered men (see Figure 13), and their average age was higher than men (see Figure 14). Where California differs from the national norm is in its magnitudes. It has a higher share of immigration than any other state; the female to male ratio of immigrants is higher than the national rate (1.22 versus 1.15); and the age gap, by gender, among California's immigrants is larger than the entire 1990s immigrant population to the U.S. (i.e., 2.3 versus 1.8). Given the arguments advanced earlier, it can be assumed that female immigrants to California are arriving mainly as spouses and older relatives of current immigrants. Figure (15) illustrates that in all age groups above 20, women are a much larger group than their male counterparts. Comparing Figures (12) and (15) is also indicative of the difference between California and U.S. immigrants in general. Among immigrants 21 years and older, women in California outnumbered their respective age cohorts by an average 16 percentage points, whereas in the U.S. that difference is 13.45 percent.

California's immigrants are also unique in that they are mainly recent arrivals in the U.S. Figure (16) illustrates this fact, by portraying the number of "new arrivals" versus those who have adjusted their status after residing in the U.S. With the exception of 1996 and 1997, in every year since 1990, "new arrivals" outnumber the "adjusted status" population. This is a clear indication of the accelerated nature of family reunification during this era. Anxieties about the future of immigration policies in the U.S. may have pushed the immigrant population to bring their family members faster than would have normally happened.

Geography of California Immigration

California's immigrant population has historically favored a few specific places in the state. A foreign-born population rate of over 30 percent in Los Angeles County in 1990 is indicative of this geography. During the 1990s, immigrants continued to accentuate their sub-regional presence in a selected number of INS districts and counties. In every year since 1990, the Los Angeles INS district received more immigrants than any other in California. This is clearly illustrated by information on the immigrants' ZIP code of intended residence. Figures (17) through (19) illustrate that the Bay Area and Los Angeles County are the most popular destinations for California immigrants. Eighteen ZIP codes received more than 8,000 immigrants from 1990 to 1998. Ten of these are located in the greater Los Angeles area and the remainder are in the Bay Area. This proportion remains similar for ZIP codes with more than 10,000 immigrants. Four are in Los Angeles and Orange Counties and two are in the Bay Area. Comparison of Figures (19) and (20) clearly demonstrates that a significant majority of immigrants have

chosen ZIP codes where there was a large immigrant population present in 1990. Even at a subgroup level, immigrants seem to have favored the sub-regions where their fellow ethnic population lives. Note that ZIP codes with the largest 1990s immigrant population are divided into mid-city, San Fernando Valley, San Gabriel Valley, and Santa Ana communities. The clear division of ethnic geography among Asians and Latinos is observable in this emerging spatial pattern of concentration.

An important aspect of the 1990s immigration geography in California is illustrated in Figure (18). Location quotient is simply a visibility index. It is calculated by dividing the proportion of new immigrants to old immigrants by the proportion of added population in a ZIP code to the existing population in 1990. This technique helps identify all areas within which immigrants have grown disproportionately to the initial immigrant population, as well as the rate of overall population increase in that area. Note that many of the central California counties, which are typically rural, appear on the map. Higher visibilities cannot only contribute to a higher probability of social frictions in these areas, but also demand attention to service delivery issues. Despite the large population of immigrants in a number of Bay Area, Los Angeles County and Orange County ZIP codes, high location quotient values in some of the neighborhoods may also signal the total transformation of certain communities to a new immigrant area. For example, in 1990, in ZIP code 91206, located in the southern end of Glendale, over 24,000 foreign-born individuals lived among a population slightly larger than 38,000. Since 1990, nearly 14,000 additional immigrants have been added to the population of this ZIP code. ZIP codes with such characteristics abound, signaling the rise of new communities that can hardly be called "ethnic enclaves," since the perceived class structure for the traditional discussion on enclaves does not apply here. For example, in ZIP code 90046, where over 14,000 of the 1990s immigrants have made their home, the socioeconomic status of residents is clearly diverse and ranges across the entire spectrum. What may be emerging is the end result of a massive chain migration formed under the demographic momentum of family reunification. It is family relationships, and hence perceived identities, that contribute to the ethnic geography of Los Angeles, and not its class-based blood lines. This is not to say that there are no immigrants arriving in lower socioeconomic neighborhoods. On the contrary, many are. However, their choice of destination is largely determined by their perceived sense of support that, in the absence of a white majority, may have become ethnic-based. A tribalized urban geography may also reflect divided politics, an over-abundance of ethnic advocacy, and a rush to adopt hyphenated identities that are rooted in the formation of dysfunctional political units, i.e., nations, rather than true cultural identities. Los Angeles' geography is simply a spatial manifestation of decades of racializing and ethnicizing the political structure, as well as the economy, in the U.S.

Asian Immigration as a Case Study

Probably the most striking and intentional dimension of immigration in the post-1965 Immigration Era is the rise of Asian immigration to the U.S. As illustrated by Tables (2) and (4), Asians not only make up one of the largest sources of documented immigrants to the U.S., but their regional concentration in California also gives a new demographic dimension to the population structure of this state, especially in Los Angeles County.

Without a doubt, Asian identity is an American-manufactured nomenclature for identifying a diverse group of people whose coalition under an imposed identity has both political and social implications. Rooted in the census definition of Asians as those who live in Pakistan, India, and all other countries to their east, Asian identity does not, on the whole, correspond with the continent of Asia. Ironically, people from southwest Asia, including Afghanistan, are considered white, and as such, the meaning of Asians has become somewhat convoluted. Asian groups contain a population with diverse religious and linguistic affiliations, whose plural identification, as defined in the U.S., is truly ahistorical.

In order to remain consistent with the census definition, and contrary to the author's belief, this report uses the generally accepted definition of Asians for purely analytical reasons. With that purpose in mind, a subset of the INS data was created using nationality (and country of chargeability for the two countries of Hong Kong and Macao, which were listed under other nationalities) codes designed by the INS. The final data included the following countries: American Samoa, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Burma, Cambodia, China, Fuji, Guam, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Laos, Macao, Malaysia, Maldives, Micronesia (Fed. States), Nepal, Pacific Islands (Trust Territory), Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Sri Lanka, Taiwan, Thailand, Tonga, Vietnam,

and Western Samoa.

With 2.2 million immigrants, Asian countries were the source of slightly less than 31 percent of total U.S. immigration from 1990 to 1998[9]. As Figure (21) indicates, while the annual number of Asian immigrants has declined from a high of 302,542 in 1994 to 172,174 in 1998, the importance of California's share of Asian immigration has remained significant. As of 1998, California was still receiving more than 32 percent of its documented immigrants from the listed Asian countries (see Figure 22). For the country as a whole, Asians still provide over 26 percent of the annual immigration.

Within the listed Asian countries, which qualify as Asian in the U.S., only a handful provide the majority of immigrants to the U.S. Table (6) identifies the top 10 nationalities among the Asian immigrants for each year. From 1990 to 1998, these countries provided over 90 percent of Asian immigrants, and as such, form the core culture groups. While the list repeats the name of most countries, the Philippines, China, Vietnam, India, Korea, Pakistan, and Taiwan were among the top 10 nationalities in every year since 1990. With the Philippines as the single largest source of Asian immigration, the top seven countries supplied 1.9 million immigrants in the 1990s, accounting for 85 percent of all Asian immigrants.

For California, this pattern remains consistent with the national picture. As Table (7) illustrates, the top 10 Asian nationalities among the 1990s immigrants provide over 90 percent of all Asian immigrants to the state. Among them, Filipinos, Vietnamese, Chinese, Asian Indians, Koreans, Taiwanese and people from Hong Kong appear on the top 10 list for every year in the 1990s, supplying close to 85 percent of Asian immigrants in this period. With a total approaching 650,000, these seven countries are also the source of slightly less than 36 percent of all immigrants to California during this period. Between nationalities, the share in California varies. For example, while 46.2 percent of Taiwanese, 44.6 percent of Filipinos, 37.9 percent of Vietnamese, 32 percent of Chinese, and 29.7 percent of Korean immigrants come to California (percentages which are above the average immigration share of California), only 19.6 percent of Indian immigrants come to this state. As such, the sociopolitical identity of the Asian collective varies from one region to the next. Given that immigration rates to specific regions can viewed as indicators of future immigration patterns, we can assume that California's Asian community will be largely defined by the five east Asian countries listed above.

Demographically, Asian immigrants are similar to the larger documented immigrant population. In every year since 1990, women have outnumbered men (see Figure 23). This fact remains true for the California share of Asian immigrants in this period as well (see Figure 24). What distinguishes Asians from the remainder of the immigrant population is the mean age by gender. While Figure (10) illustrates a consistent mean age difference of about two years between female and male immigrants to the U.S., Figure (25) indicates that among Asian immigrants, this gap has narrowed from 1990 to 1996, and since 1997, men are slightly older than women. Among Asian immigrants in California, the mean age difference follows the national norm, as opposed to other Asian immigrants during the 1990s. Figure (26) illustrates that while the age gap between men and women has narrowed, women, on the average, were still older than men. What this may illustrate is that California receives a larger share of Asian family reunification immigration than the U.S. as a whole.

In addition to gender-specific age differences, Asian immigrants also appear to be older than the remainder of the immigrant population in the 1990s. Comparison of Figures (10) and (25) illustrates that while the annual average age of male immigrants to the U.S. remained under 30, male Asian immigrants were on the average older than 30 (i.e., only in 1990 was their average age 29.9) and reached a mean of over 32.5 in 1997. This is also true for women. The annual average age for all female immigrants remained consistently between 30 and 31.5 in the 1990s; however, female Asian immigrants achieved annual mean age of 31.5 or higher during this period. Among California immigrants, a similar pattern seems to appear. While the mean age of male and female immigrants to California is higher than the national average, indicating the importance of family reunification in this state, among Asian immigrants this pattern is even more pronounced. Figure (14) illustrates the mean age of male and female immigrants to California. As indicated by this graph, among women, who were on the average older than men in every year during the 1990s, the average age reached a mean of slightly over 33 by 1998. For men, this value

[9] This does not include those immigrants who were admitted under the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act.

never reached 31. Among Asians (Figure 26), the mean age of women never dipped below 33, and for men, it increased from slightly below 31 to slightly less than 33.5 in 1997. Table (8) and Figure (27) provide a summary analysis for mean age by gender for all categories of analysis. As indicated, the oldest cohort has consistently been female Asian immigrants to California, and the youngest is male immigrants to the U.S. These numbers reveal a new dimension in American immigration history. Immigrants no longer fit the "young single male" perception. In fact, they are mainly women and older. This is especially true in California and among the 1990s Asian immigrant population in this state. Figures (28) and (29) illustrate this fact even more markedly. Women are a majority in every age cohort, except for 6-20, among Asian immigrants to the U.S. and, for that matter, to California. Close to two-thirds of all Asian immigrants aged 21-25 are women, and the female immigrants exceed men by at least 10 percentage points in age cohorts "26-30," "36-40," "41-45," 51 through 65 (i.e., three age cohorts), and "81 and older." In California, this is even more pronounced, since in every age cohort above 20, women exceed men by more than 10 percentage points, except for "46-50" and "71-75." Overall, the image of young male immigrants is no longer applicable to the new immigration wave that began in the 1980s. This is exemplified by the Asian immigrants, who made up close to a third of all immigrants to the U.S. in the 1990s.

Geography of Asian Immigration

Asian immigration in the 1990s was targeted mainly to four states: California, New York, Texas, and New Jersey. These states collectively received slightly less than 1.3 million, or 58 percent, of all Asian immigrants. As indicated in earlier discussions, California's share of Asian immigration is slightly over one-third by itself. As Figure (30) illustrates, with the exception of Illinois, the mid-western and mountain states have been only minimally important as destinations for Asian immigrants. However, Asians have chosen both "frost-belt" and "sun-belt" states as their states of intended residence. The logic of this geography rests on previously established Asian communities, as well as on economic opportunities available in major American cities. Once the result of the 2000 census becomes available, it would not be illogical to expect a more pronounced concentration of Asian Americans in the U.S. Examining ZIP code-level distribution of Asians in California (Figure 31) illustrates that during the 1990s, Asians have primarily moved to areas where pockets of Asian communities already existed[10]. Among targeted ZIP codes, 15 attracted more than 5000 immigrants during the 1990s. With a total Asian immigration share of over 95,000 (i.e., over 12 percent of all the Asian immigrants in California during this period), these ZIP codes identify the core of Asian communities in California. While it is not surprising to find these ZIP codes mainly in Los Angeles, Orange County, San Diego and the Bay Area, the fact that the largest destination is in Orange County may be of interest to many. ZIP code 92683 attracted over 10,000 Asians during the 1990s, followed by numbers ranging from 6,800 to 8,000 in three other ZIP codes in the Bay Area. Los Angeles County's share of Asian immigrants is over 210,000 during this period; however, only three of the 15 largest ZIP codes of Asian concentrations (i.e., over 5,000) appear in this county (see Figure 32). In order of magnitude, these ZIP codes are 91754, 91801 and 90701. As expected, they are to be found in Alhambra, Monterey Park and Artesia. These ZIP codes had a large Asian population by 1990, and as such have become major destinations for the new Asian immigrant population.

The overall geography of the Asian community (see Figure 32) points to four sub-regions in the South Coast: the San Gabriel Valley, inland Orange County, the South Bay and the San Fernando Valley. As Figure (32) illustrates, the ZIP codes in these sub-regions are spread over diverse socioeconomic neighborhoods; however, it is clear that Asian immigration has been minimal to areas with severely distressed conditions. This is reflected by an overall per capita income of approximately $10,100 in all the ZIP codes where one or more of the 1990s' Asian immigrants reside. This is only slightly larger than the average per capita income for all ZIP codes, which is slightly

[10] There was a high statistical correlation between the 1990 Asian population in a ZIP Code and the total Asian immigration from 1990-1998. A Pearson correlation coefficient of 0.927 was achieved, with n=1444 and significance of 0.000. Similar comparison for the 1990 total foreign-born population and the 1990 to1998 immigrant population achieved a correlation of 0.851 (n=1444). Asian immigration and the foreign-born population produced a correlation of 0.603 (n=1444). This indicates that Asian immigrants are more likely to move to areas where other Asians and foreign-born populations already reside. However, relatively speaking, existing Asian communities are more attractive than any other foreign-born community.

below $9,700[11]. Also, as the map illustrates, Asian immigration is focused primarily on neighborhoods where African-Americans are largely absent[12]. While co-location with Latinos and non-Hispanic white is also minimal, the absence of Asians from African-American communities could be the direct result of perceived, or real, class differences between these populations. Housing value, access to employment, and presence of a thriving ethnic economy can be seen as additional reasons for segregating these populations from each other.

Naturalization Rate among Asians

One of the major concerns among political activists is the ability of a group to participate and have a voice in the political process. This is usually measured by citizenship and voting rates. While the magnitude of citizenship can be viewed as a group's changing perception from sojourning to permanency, it would be a mistake to assume that adopting American citizenship necessarily equates abandoning one's old culture and/or national identity. In fact, many immigrants become citizens for the conveniences that it avails them. Unlike the turn-of-the-century immigrants, many foreign-born U.S. citizens hold dual or multiple citizenships. Regardless, from an American political perspective, it is important to monitor the rate of citizenship among various groups. Among Asians, this will allow for assuring and acquiring a political voice in the decision-making process.

Figure (33) illustrates that since 1969, the rate of citizenship among Asian immigrants has annually increased, reaching values over 220,000 by 1996. Despite the declining numbers in 1997 and 1998, it is apparent that the U.S. immigration environment, as well as the political and economic conditions in Asia, has contributed to a rise in the number of Asians who have chosen the U.S. as their new political home. As impressive as these figures appear to be, a close examination of the 1990s naturalization rates indicates that a large number of Asians have not become citizens. In order to illustrate this point, Figure (34) compares the number of immigrants in 1990 to 1993 who would have become eligible for citizenship in 1995 to 1998[13], with the actual number of naturalized Asians from 1995 to 1998[14]. The gap between the two numbers is striking for the years prior to and after 1996. Only in that year did the Asian naturalization rate catch up with its eligibility for those who immigrated in 1991. Considering the fact that thousands of Asian immigrants who had become eligible for citizenship had not obtained this status, the 1996 figure is significant only for its rate of achievement. Otherwise, as Figure (34) illustrates, the naturalization rates in 1997 and 1998 have fallen below that of 1995.

While naturalization rates may hold a fascination and an urgency for the community and civil rights activists, the social interpretation of this phenomenon is hardly synonymous with assimilation or even political integration. The fact remains that many Asians and other immigrant groups maintain dual citizenship and certainly do not abandon their ethnic identities, even when they vote. Naturalization rates are more meaningful for building a political constituency and vociferous communities that are more particularistic in their tone than universal, where the extent of their Americanization is defined by their level of political access and/or participation.

Reflecting on Immigration and Identity

The 1990s remind us all that the age of human migration, at a global level, is upon us. With millions of people living outside their country of birth, America has become a major destination for the wandering political and economic nomads of the global village. One of out every ten immigrants who ever came to this country arrived in the short period of 1990 to 1998. The European-ness of the American stock seems to be challenged by the millions who have arrived over the last two decades. In this environment, foreign-born Americans can hardly be a minority. As such, their view of nativists will prompt a more serious participation in the American electoral process, as well as the

[11] These figures are derived from the 1990 Census of Population and Housing, STF3B.

[12] California-wide, correlation between total 1990s Asian immigration and the 1990 Latino population , at ZIP Code level, stood at 0.334 (n=1444, significance=0.000). Similar correlation computation for the 1990s Asian immigration and the 1990 African American population resulted in a value of 0.180 (n=1444, significance=0.000).

[13] These are individuals 16 years and older, who would become eligible for citizenship after their fifth year of residence in the U.S.

[14] It should be noted that the immigration values includes a few smaller Asian countries that are not included in the naturalization information. However, the impact of this difference is minimal.

economy. Entrepreneurs, self-selected people with aspirations of social ascendance, immigrants are hardly a passive few who can be forced to assimilate to the fuzzy culture of America. They are a formidable force that is gradually reshaping the American political, social and economic landscapes. Immigration has become more obviously what it has always been, an economic, social and political equity process at the global scale. Immigrants to the U.S. and, for that matter, to European countries, are typically from countries that have been dominated by colonial forces, be it overtly or subvertly. Having failed to achieve political, social and economic prosperity in the environments created by these colonial forces, immigrants come to the source to claim their fair share of life among their national nemesis. Under this philosophical umbrella, the high immigration flows of Latin Americans and Asians becomes logical. America's post-WW II obsession with creating a chain of allies among the countries that are located along the Asian Pacific rim led to two wars (i.e., Korea and Vietnam) and produced the immigrant population flow that began in the 1970s. As anti-immigrant groups continue to build their rhetoric, they fail to mention America's historical relationship with the very nations that supply the immigrant population.

The dilemma of the American immigration phenomenon; however, moves beyond the simple "peopling" of a country and its numerical scale. This report directly and indirectly alludes to some of these problems, including the bizarre hegemonic nomenclature invented to group a diverse population together. This is hardly the work of the host society alone. The immigrants, in their search for political power and equitable access, have helped further the cause of these mass-produced identities. The emerging Asian identity is simply a continuing saga in the American history of ethnogenesis, and their geographic distribution is but another chapter in the spatiality of race and ethnicity. Geography has become a surrogate for manifesting the American sociopolitical condition, which has given rise to the production and maintenance of identities whose meaning outside the boundaries of this country loses relevance. However, conditioned by the sociopolitical environment of the U.S., immigrants, regardless of their social status, are more likely to adhere to their given ethnic identities than their socioeconomic, class affiliation. To this extent, Asian-ness, among many other collective identities in America, has a significantly more pronounced political meaning than aspatial citizenship in an electoral democracy that is rooted in geography. The maintenance of these ethnic identities is a tool to assure equity in a system that rarely values the common individual, and is more likely to give in to "pressure groups." Ethnogenesis is an important by-product of the American sociopolitical engine and its demise would be contrary to the logic of the globalization process. In a post-hegemonic phase of producing and consuming the culture of nationalism, immigration and ethnicity introduce the balance needed to counter the disruptive forces of nation building here and abroad. The tribalization of America is the logical response to over 200 years of history in creating dysfunctional governance tools, called "states," and their psuedo-cultural reflections, manufactured "nations." As messengers of modern governance and electoral democracy, western countries, especially the United States, are simply harvesting the fruit of a post-colonial era. The extent to which the new immigrants become agents of change in their new and old countries, through capital and social connections, will determine how effective they will be as counter-colonizing forces in their host societies. As immigrants introduce diversity in the engine of globalization and its related capital investment, they will become a formidable force for the creation of a culturally heterogeneous economy. Viewed in this manner, immigration is the necessary tool for deconstructing nations, monopolies of power, centralized economies and, for that matter, everything modern. As global nomads, immigrants are the messengers of post-modernity, and they mirror images of what the world could be like in all its multiplicities in the future.

TABLE 1: Annual Immigration by State of Residence

State	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	Total
Alabama	1,486	1,568	2,023	2,289	1,834	1,897	1,780	1,612	1,608	**16,097**
Alaska	1,021	1,155	1,120	1,283	1,128	1,048	1,277	1,060	1,007	**10,099**
Arizona	6,760	6,474	7,771	9,102	9,053	7,588	8,839	8,545	6,134	**70,266**
Arkansas	813	745	933	1,283	1,009	929	1,491	1,427	914	**9,544**
California	186,225	194,317	238,281	247,253	205,873	165,317	199,483	201,666	169,541	**1,807,956**
Colorado	4,067	4,948	5,996	6,517	6,772	7,619	8,715	7,462	6,500	**58,596**
Connecticut	8,945	9,706	9,903	10,885	9,519	9,231	10,864	9,525	7,778	**86,356**
Delaware	666	1,081	969	1,123	977	1,048	1,373	1,148	1,062	**9,447**
District of Columbia	3,383	4,007	4,133	3,594	3,200	3,042	3,781	3,368	2,377	**30,885**
Florida	46,225	50,897	49,634	60,325	57,934	61,693	79,173	82,248	59,923	**548,052**
Georgia	6,852	8,229	9,725	10,057	9,990	12,342	12,580	12,613	10,427	**92,815**
Hawaii	7,858	7,766	7,885	8,504	7,742	7,536	8,433	6,863	5,465	**68,052**
Idaho	651	737	976	1,232	1,539	1,596	1,801	1,439	1,504	**11,475**
Illinois	28,019	31,633	40,500	46,277	42,209	33,750	42,224	38,048	33,162	**335,822**
Indiana	2,523	2,907	3,012	4,365	3,713	3,579	4,678	3,887	3,981	**32,645**
Iowa	1,843	1,913	2,071	2,606	2,158	2,257	3,032	2,766	1,655	**20,301**
Kansas	1,928	2,168	2,739	3,188	2,896	2,423	4,291	2,828	3,184	**25,645**
Kentucky	1,173	1,439	2,073	2,171	2,032	1,855	2,018	1,938	2,017	**16,716**
Louisiana	3,221	3,768	4,158	3,707	3,362	2,995	4,086	3,316	2,193	**30,806**
Maine	835	1,052	837	835	829	813	1,028	817	709	**7,755**
Maryland	12,743	13,586	15,038	16,873	15,923	15,042	20,707	19,073	15,555	**144,540**
Massachusetts	19,890	19,537	20,774	24,738	22,819	20,458	23,057	17,314	15,867	**184,454**
Michigan	9,847	12,230	13,976	14,864	12,723	14,124	17,236	14,719	13,942	**123,661**
Minnesota	6,016	6,544	6,771	7,414	7,093	8,102	8,974	8,232	6,980	**66,126**
Mississippi	726	719	802	901	810	755	1,073	1,118	701	**7,605**
Missouri	3,237	3,650	4,190	4,635	4,359	3,988	5,690	4,190	3,588	**37,527**
Montana	398	543	458	509	447	409	449	375	299	**3,887**
Nebraska	1,021	1,216	1,291	1,956	1,588	1,825	2,142	2,264	1,267	**14,570**
Nevada	2,756	3,184	3,558	3,842	3,977	4,277	5,834	6,512	6,097	**40,037**
New Hampshire	1,022	1,123	1,228	1,258	1,142	1,184	1,509	1,143	1,010	**10,619**
New Jersey	38,003	38,529	46,281	49,936	44,034	39,670	63,264	41,175	35,091	**395,983**
New Mexico	1,687	2,030	2,692	3,146	2,857	2,689	5,720	2,592	2,188	**25,601**
New York	127,948	135,707	141,296	149,564	143,813	128,033	153,957	123,660	96,496	**1,200,474**
North Carolina	3,625	4,165	5,860	6,806	6,173	5,589	6,994	5,930	6,411	**51,553**
North Dakota	425	410	509	600	634	483	606	535	472	**4,674**
Ohio	6,663	7,428	10,061	10,672	9,180	8,581	10,235	8,189	7,696	**78,705**
Oklahoma	2,063	2,280	2,858	2,838	2,701	2,765	3,495	3,143	2,273	**24,416**
Oregon	4,547	5,993	5,608	7,172	6,756	4,894	7,515	7,677	5,907	**56,069**
Pennsylvania	13,042	14,464	15,898	16,918	15,949	15,039	16,926	14,549	11,941	**134,726**
Rhode Island	2,662	2,733	2,821	3,120	2,900	2,607	3,096	2,540	1,964	**24,443**
South Carolina	1,690	1,677	1,995	2,181	2,104	2,161	2,150	2,446	2,123	**18,527**
South Dakota	262	464	516	542	569	495	519	490	356	**4,213**
Tennessee	2,357	2,605	2,879	4,260	3,592	3,386	4,340	4,355	2,805	**30,579**
Texas	40,105	42,030	57,506	62,777	54,603	48,588	82,351	57,582	44,331	**489,873**
Utah	2,094	2,487	2,449	3,168	2,890	2,808	4,217	2,835	3,360	**26,308**
Vermont	587	680	664	709	658	535	654	627	512	**5,626**
Virginia	13,669	16,321	17,250	16,406	15,323	16,294	21,361	19,252	15,685	**151,561**
Washington	9,857	11,005	15,001	17,062	18,123	15,820	18,749	18,624	16,920	**141,161**
West Virginia	494	520	711	684	663	538	582	418	375	**4,985**
Wisconsin	3,833	4,325	4,138	5,146	5,323	4,914	3,601	3,170	3,724	**38,174**
Wyoming	196	212	246	258	215	250	278	252	159	**2,066**
Total Annual Immigration for Listed States	***646,473***	***693,339***	***798,041***	***865,262***	***781,876***	***702,964***	***896,448***	***785,945***	***645,628***	**6,815,976**
Total AnnualImmigration to the United States	**656,111**	**704,005**	**810,635**	**880,014**	**798,394**	**716,194**	**911,265**	**795,830**	**659,522**	**6,931,970**

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TABLE 2: Top 10 Nationalities, by Year

1990		1991		1992		1993	
Mexico	56,556	Philippines	54,818	Mexico	91,287	Mexico	109,024
Philippines	54,383	Mexico	52,859	Vietnam	74,662	China	69,505
Vietnam	44,758	Vietnam	51,295	Philippines	58,686	Philippines	62,876
China	34,803	Stateless	45,791	China	43,224	Vietnam	55,861
Stateless	33,275	China	37,784	Dominican Republic	40,644	Dominican Republic	44,879
Dominican Republic	31,958	India	30,437	India	33,820	India	39,546
Korea	29,360	Dominican Republic	30,192	United Kingdom	31,359	USSR	31,683
India	28,081	USSR	26,876	USSR	26,932	United Kingdom	29,026
United Kingdom	23,492	United Kingdom	24,466	Stateless	24,667	Poland	27,373
Jamaica	18,442	Korea	21,427	Poland	24,293	El Salvador	25,522
Total Top 10 Nationalities	**355,108**	**Total Top 10 Nationalities**	**375,945**	**Total Top 10 Nationalities**	**449,574**	**Total Top 10 Nationalities**	**495,295**
Total U.S. Immigration	**656,111**	**Total U.S. Immigration**	**704,005**	**Total U.S. Immigration**	**810,635**	**Total U.S. Immigration**	**880,014**
Percent Annual Immigrants from top 10 Nationalities	**54.12**	**Percent Annual Immigrants from top 10 Nationalities**	**53.40**	**Percent Annual Immigrants from top 10 Nationalities**	**55.46**	**Percent Annual Immigrants from top 10 Nationalities**	**56.28**

1994		1995		1996		1997	
Mexico	106,976	Mexico	86,957	Mexico	159,959	Mexico	144,146
China	57,573	Philippines	50,793	Philippines	55,610	Philippines	48,850
Philippines	53,251	China	39,243	China	47,609	China	42,978
Dominican Republic	50,039	Vietnam	38,694	India	44,124	India	37,407
Vietnam	38,348	Dominican Republic	37,749	Vietnam	38,751	Vietnam	36,637
India	34,139	India	34,125	Dominican Republic	35,807	Cuba	33,445
Poland	27,817	Stateless	20,786	Cuba	26,348	Dominican Republic	25,241
USSR	27,811	United Kingdom	20,720	Stateless	24,412	El Salvador	17,756
United Kingdom	24,564	USSR	18,821	United Kingdom	22,736	Jamaica	17,602
Stateless	23,808	Cuba	17,775	Canada	19,897	United Kingdom	17,354
Total Top 10 Nationalities	**444,326**	**Total Top 10 Nationalities**	**365,663**	**Total Top 10 Nationalities**	**475,253**	**Total Top 10 Nationalities**	**421,416**
Total U.S. Immigration	**798,394**	**Total U.S. Immigration**	**716,194**	**Total U.S. Immigration**	**911,265**	**Total U.S. Immigration**	**795,830**
Percent Annual Immigrants from top 10 Nationalities	**55.65**	**Percent Annual Immigrants from top 10 Nationalities**	**51.06**	**Percent Annual Immigrants from top 10 Nationalities**	**52.15**	**Percent Annual Immigrants from top 10 Nationalities**	**52.95**

1998		Total for 1990-1998	
Unknown	108,471	Mexico	906,122
Mexico	98,358	Philippines	470,764
China	37,975	China	410,694
India	33,894	Vietnam	392,760
Philippines	31,497	India	315,573
Dominican Republic	17,237	Dominican Republic	313,746
Cuba	13,930		
Vietnam	13,754	**Total Top 6 Nationalities*** **	**2,809,659**
Jamaica	13,089	**Total Top 10 Nationalities**	**3,763,415**
United Kingdom	12,630	**Total U.S. Immigration**	**6,931,970**
Total Top 10 Nationalities	**380,835**	**Percent of Immigrants from Top 6**	**40.53**
Total U.S. Immigration	**659,522**	**Percent Annual Immigrants from Top 10 Nationalities**	**54.29**
Percent Annual Immigrants from top 10 Nationalities	**57.74**		

* Includes Mongolia, Mainland China, and Taiwan

** Includes United Kingdom, Anguilla, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Falkland Islands, Gibraltar, Hong Kong, Montserrat, Pitcairn Islands, St. Helena, Turks & Caicos Islands, Antigua-Barbuda, Bahamas, Belize, British Solomon Islands, Brunei, Dominica, Gilbert & Ellice Islands (Kiribati/Tuvalu), Gerenda, Grenada, New Hebrides, St. Kitts-Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent & Grenadines, Seychelles, Zimbabwe (definition circa 1990 INS codebook) (Source of Definition: INS codebooks).

*** These nationalities appear on the top-10 list for each year.

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TABLE 3: Top 10 Countries of Chargeability, by Year

1990		1991		1992		1993	
Non-Quota Immigrants	357,805	Non-Quota Immigrants	410,159	Non-Quota Immigrants	513,213	Non-Quota Immigrants	572,123
Dominican Republic	20,303	Mainland China	21,315	Mainland China	22,965	Philippines	26,296
Mexico	19,986	India	20,437	India	22,297	Mainland China	24,726
Mainland China	19,795	Philippines	20,162	Philippines	19,191	India	24,462
Philippines	19,588	Mexico	19,514	Poland	17,894	Poland	22,430
India	19,157	Dominican Republic	17,218	Mexico	16,603	Mexico	17,483
Korea	18,624	Jamaica	13,353	Ireland	12,429	Dominican Republic	17,344
Jamaica	13,933	Korea	12,932	Taiwan	11,723	Ireland	14,494
Taiwan	10,377	El Salvador	10,251	United Kingdom	11,190	Canada	10,183
Haiti	8,871	Poland	9,429	Vietnam	9,974	Taiwan	9,794
Vietnam	8,829	Haiti	9,276	Korea	9,597	Korea	9,378
Total Top 10 Countries	**159,463**	**Total Top 10 Countries**	**153,887**	**Total Top 10 Countries**	**153,863**	**Total Top 10 Countries**	**176,590**
Total US Immigration	**656,111**	**Total US Immigration**	**704,005**	**Total US Immigration**	**810,635**	**Total US Immigration**	**880,014**
Percent of Non-Quota Immigrants	**54.53**	**Percent of Non-Quota Immigrants**	**58.26**	**Percent of Non-Quota Immigrants**	**63.31**	**Percent of Non-Quota Immigrants**	**65.01**

1994		1995		1996		1997	
Non-Quota Immigrants	508,961	Non-Quota Immigrants	418,936	Non-Quota Immigrants	512,796	Non-Quota Immigrants	491,038
Poland	24,234	Philippines	27,012	Mexico	48,463	Mexico	30,734
Philippines	23,628	Mexico	24,644	India	31,546	Mainland China	24,711
Mainland China	23,074	India	22,367	Mainland China	27,544	Philippines	22,895
India	21,879	Mainland China	20,237	Philippines	26,842	India	22,649
Dominican Republic	20,523	Dominican Republic	16,807	Dominican Republic	17,761	Dominican Republic	11,250
Ireland	18,944	Poland	10,432	Poland	11,812	Korea	8,590
Mexico	15,064	Korea	8,952	Korea	11,516	Poland	8,565
Canada	9,371	Jamaica	8,741	Jamaica	10,216	Jamaica	8,254
El Salvador	8,871	Canada	7,140	Canada	10,069	Canada	8,115
Korea	8,379	El Salvador	6,477	Taiwan	9,757	Vietnam	8,078
Total Top 10 Countries	**173,967**	**Total Top 10 Countries**	**152,809**	**Total Top 10 Countries**	**205,526**	**Total Top 10 Countries**	**153,841**
Total US Immigration	**798,394**	**Total US Immigration**	**716,194**	**Total US Immigration**	**911,265**	**Total US Immigration**	**795,830**
Percent of Non-Quota Immigrants	**63.75**	**Percent of Non-Quota Immigrants**	**58.49**	**Percent of Non-Quota Immigrants**	**56.27**	**Percent of Non-Quota Immigrants**	**61.70**

1998	
Non-Quota Immigrants	382,663
India	23,540
Mainland China	23,159
Unknown	22,745
Mexico	18,581
Philippines	16,764
Dominican Republic	9,195
Korea	8,157
Vietnam	6,880
Pakistan	6,716
Jamaica	6,360
Total Top 10 Countries	**142,097**
Total US Immigration	**659,522**
Percent of Non-Quota Immigrants	**58.02**

TABLE 4: California's Top 10 Nationalities, by Year

1990		1991		1992		1993	
Mexico	26,803	Philippines	25,988	Mexico	47,061	Mexico	52,850
Philippines	25,684	Mexico	22,666	Vietnam	31,882	Philippines	27,263
Vietnam	17,009	Vietnam	18,776	Philippines	25,070	Vietnam	23,366
Stateless	15,697	Stateless	16,308	China	13,778	China	15,916
China*	13,583	China	14,764	USSR	12,491	USSR	15,499
Korea	8,825	USSR	8,941	El Salvador	11,856	El Salvador	12,894
United Kingdom**	6,538	El Salvador	7,484	United Kingdom	8,723	India	8,464
Laos	6,141	United Kingdom	7,208	India	6,836	United Kingdom	8,045
Iran	6,031	Korea	6,407	Laos	5,998	Iran	6,393
El Salvador	5,449	Iran	5,957	Korea	5,749	Guatemala	6,115
Total Top 10 Nationalities	**131,760**	**Total Top 10 Nationalities**	**134,499**	**Total Top 10 Nationalities**	**169,444**	**Total Top 10 Nationalities**	**176,805**
Total Calif. Immigration	**186,225**	**Total Calif. Immigration**	**194,317**	**Total Calif. Immigration**	**238,281**	**Total Calif. Immigration**	**247,253**
Percent Annual Immigrants from top 10 Nationalities	**70.75**	**Percent Annual Immigrants from top 10 Nationalities**	**69.22**	**Percent Annual Immigrants from top 10 Nationalities**	**71.11**	**Percent Annual Immigrants from top 10 Nationalities**	**71.51**

1994		1995		1996		1997	
Mexico	49,955	Mexico	33,466	Mexico	62,560	Mexico	66,924
Philippines	23,812	Philippines	22,473	Philippines	23,361	Philippines	21,730
China	19,270	Vietnam	14,916	China	14,068	Vietnam	14,558
Vietnam	12,301	China	12,336	Vietnam	11,516	China	14,178
USSR	9,352	India	6,568	India	7,697	India	7,940
El Salvador	7,910	United Kingdom	5,733	El Salvador	6,713	El Salvador	7,287
India	6,963	El Salvador	4,843	United Kingdom	5,751	United Kingdom	5,076
United Kingdom	6,571	Stateless	4,809	Korea	4,397	Iran	4,049
Stateless	6,131	Korea	4,780	Iran	4,210	Korea	3,987
Korea	4,894	Iran	3,719	Stateless	3,969	Guatemala	3,098
Total Top 10 Nationalities	**147,159**	**Total Top 10 Nationalities**	**113,643**	**Total Top 10 Nationalities**	**144,242**	**Total Top 10 Nationalities**	**148,827**
Total Calif. Immigration	**205,872**	**Total Calif. Immigration**	**165,317**	**Total Calif. Immigration**	**199,483**	**Total Calif. Immigration**	**201,666**
Percent Annual Immigrants from top 10 Nationalities	**71.48**	**Percent Annual Immigrants from top 10 Nationalities**	**68.74**	**Percent Annual Immigrants from top 10 Nationalities**	**72.31**	**Percent Annual Immigrants from top 10 Nationalities**	**73.80**

1998		Total for 1990-1998	
Mexico	45,966	Mexico	408,251
Unknown	31,887	Philippines	210,020
Philippines	14,639	Vietnam	148,991
China	13,625	China	131,518
India	6,604	El Salvador	69,243
El Salvador	4,807	United Kingdom	57,300
Vietnam	4,667		
Korea	3,786	**Top 6 Nationalities*** **	**1,025,323**
United Kingdom	3,655	**Top 10 Nationalities**	**1,298,831**
Iran	2,816	**Total Calif. Immigration**	**1,807,955**
Total Top 10 Nationalities	**132,452**	**Percent of Immigrants from Top 6**	**56.71**
Total Calif. Immigration	**169,541**		
Percent Annual Immigrants from top 10 Nationalities	**78.12**	**Percent Annual Immigrants from top 10 Nationalities**	**71.84**

* Includes Mongolia, Mainland China, and Taiwan

** Includes United Kingdom, Anguilla, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Falkland Islands, Gibraltar, Hong Kong, Montserrat, Pitcairn Islands, St. Helena, Turks & Caicos Islands, Antigua-Barbuda, Bahamas, Belize, British Solomon Islands, Brunei, Dominica, Gilbert & Ellice Islands (Kiribati/Tuvalu), Gerenda, Grenada, New Hebrides, St. Kitts-Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent & Grenadines, Seychelles, Zimbabwe (definition circa 1990 INS codebook) (Source of Definition: INS Codebooks).

*** These nationalities appear on the top-10 list for each year.

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TABLE 5: California's Top 10 Country of Chargeability, by Year

1990		1991		1992		1993	
Non-Quota Immigrants	110,922	Non-Quota Immigrants	120,980	Non-Quota Immigrants	161,096	Non-Quota Immigrants	169,189
Philippines	9,768	Philippines	10,178	Philippines	7,787	Philippines	11,227
Mexico	9,610	Mexico	9,031	Mexico	7,404	Mexico	7,819
Mainland China	6,953	Mainland China	7,363	Mainland China	6,852	Mainland China	7,807
Korea	6,205	El Salvador	5,155	Taiwan	5,589	Taiwan	5,035
Taiwan	4,627	Korea	4,373	India	4,238	India	4,837
Vietnam	3,923	Vietnam	4,041	Vietnam	4,082	El Salvador	4,550
El Salvador	3,760	Taiwan	3,824	El Salvador	3,617	Korea	3,723
India	3,206	India	3,570	Korea	3,387	Hong Kong	2,475
Iran	2,448	Hong Kong	2,896	Japan	3,384	Iran	2,311
Hong Kong	2,178	Iran	2,148	Hong Kong	3,106	United Kingdom	2,309
Total Top 10 Countries	**52,678**	**Total Top 10 Countries**	**52,579**	**Total Top 10 Countries**	**49,446**	**Total Top 10 Countries**	**52,093**
Total Calif. Immigration	**186,225**	**Total Calif. Immigration**	**194,317**	**Total Calif. Immigration**	**238,281**	**Total Calif. Immigration**	**247,253**
Percent of Non-Quota Immigrants	**59.56**	**Percent of Non-Quota Immigrants**	**62.26**	**Percent of Non-Quota Immigrants**	**67.61**	**Percent of Non-Quota Immigrants**	**68.43**

1994		1995		1996		1997	
Non-Quota Immigrants	141,995	Non-Quota Immigrants	100,111	Non-Quota Immigrants	113,206	Non-Quota Immigrants	126,993
Philippines	10,272	Philippines	11,563	Mexico	19,931	Mexico	14,712
Mainland China	6,835	Mexico	7,541	Philippines	10,797	Philippines	10,072
Mexico	5,939	Mainland China	6,205	Mainland China	7,011	Mainland China	8,264
El Salvador	4,229	India	3,844	India	5,075	India	4,582
India	4,145	Taiwan	3,283	Taiwan	4,376	El Salvador	3,516
Taiwan	3,322	Korea	3,166	El Salvador	3,880	Vietnam	3,145
Korea	3,110	El Salvador	2,995	Korea	3,106	Korea	2,851
Ireland	2,600	Vietnam	2,564	Guatemala	2,365	Taiwan	2,359
Hong Kong	2,105	Hong Kong	2,176	Hong Kong	2,265	Hong Kong	1,670
United Kingdom	1,569	Iran	1,461	Vietnam	2,202	Guatemala	1,662
Total Top 10 Countries	**44,126**	**Total Top 10 Countries**	**44,798**	**Total Top 10 Countries**	**61,008**	**Total Top 10 Countries**	**52,833**
Total Calif. Immigration	**205,873**	**Total Calif. Immigration**	**165,317**	**Total Calif. Immigration**	**199,483**	**Total Calif. Immigration**	**201,666**
Percent of Non-Quota Immigrants	**68.97**	**Percent of Non-Quota Immigrants**	**60.56**	**Percent of Non-Quota Immigrants**	**56.75**	**Percent of Non-Quota Immigrants**	**62.97**

1998	
Non-Quota Immigrants	98,988
Mexico	9,419
Mexico	8,734
Philippines	8,201
Unknown	6,937
India	4,301
Vietnam	3,098
Korea	2,919
Taiwan	2,684
El Salvador	1,897
Hong Kong	1,621
Total Top 10 Countries	**49,811**
Total Calif. Immigration	**169,541**
Percent of Non-Quota Immigrants	**58.39**

TABLE 6: Top 10 Asian Immigrant Nationalities, by Year (U.S.)

1990		1991		1992		1993	
Philippines	54,383	Philippines	54,818	Vietnam	74,662	China	69,505
Vietnam	44,758	Vietnam	51,295	Philippines	58,686	Philippines	62,876
China	34,803	China	37,784	China	43,224	Vietnam	55,861
Korea	29,360	India	30,437	India	33,820	India	39,546
India	28,081	Korea	21,427	Korea	18,865	Korea	17,820
Laos	12,446	Laos	11,441	Japan	10,937	Taiwan	10,133
Pakistan	7,766	Pakistan	8,725	Taiwan	10,895	Laos	9,858
Taiwan	7,637	Bangladesh	6,332	Laos	10,870	Pakistan	9,058
Hong Kong	4,998	Hong Kong	6,324	Pakistan	9,362	Japan	6,816
Cambodia	4,974	Taiwan	6,315	Hong Kong	6,353	Hong Kong	5,206
Total Top 10 Nationalities	**229,206**	**Total Top 10 Nationalities**	**234,898**	**Total Top 10 Nationalities**	**277,674**	**Total Top 10 Nationalities**	**286,679**
Total Asian Immigration to United States	**250,413**	**Total Asian Immigration to United States**	**253,549**	**Total Asian Immigration to United States**	**295,570**	**Total Asian Immigration to United States**	**302,542**
Percent of Asians from the Top 10 Nationalities	**91.53**	**Percent of Asians from the Top 10 Nationalities**	**92.64**	**Percent of Asians from the Top 10 Nationalities**	**93.95**	**Percent of Asians from the Top 10 Nationalities**	**94.76**

1994		1995		1996		1997	
China	57,573	Philippines	50,793	Philippines	55,610	Philippines	48,850
Philippines	53,251	China	39,243	China	47,609	China	42,978
Vietnam	38,348	Vietnam	38,694	India	44,124	India	37,407
India	34,139	India	34,125	Vietnam	38,751	Vietnam	36,637
Korea	15,852	Korea	15,973	Korea	18,088	Korea	14,145
Pakistan	9,047	Pakistan	9,955	Pakistan	12,808	Pakistan	13,052
Laos	7,467	Laos	6,203	Bangladesh	8,204	Bangladesh	8,659
Taiwan	6,534	Bangladesh	6,060	Taiwan	7,543	Japan	5,004
Japan	5,995	Taiwan	5,814	Japan	5,944	Taiwan	4,666
Hong Kong	4,266	Japan	4,749	Hong Kong	4,831	Hong Kong	3,233
Total Top 10 Nationalities	**232,472**	**Total Top 10 Nationalities**	**211,609**	**Total Top 10 Nationalities**	**243,512**	**Total Top 10 Nationalities**	**214,631**
Total Asian Immigration to United States	**246,621**	**Total Asian Immigration to United States**	**226,501**	**Total Asian Immigration to United States**	**260,378**	**Total Asian Immigration to United States**	**227,919**
Percent of Asians from the Top 10 Nationalities	**94.26**	**Percent of Asians from the Top 10 Nationalities**	**93.43**	**Percent of Asians from the Top 10 Nationalities**	**93.52**	**Percent of Asians from the Top 10 Nationalities**	**94.17**

1998		Total for 1990-1998	
China	37,975	Philippines	470,764
India	33,894	China	410,694
Philippines	31,497	Vietnam	392,760
Vietnam	13,754	India	315,573
Korea	12,563	Korea	164,093
Pakistan	12,452	Pakistan	92,225
Bangladesh	8,116	Taiwan	62,904
Japan	4,393		
Taiwan	3,367	**Total Top 7 Nationalities***	**1,909,013**
Hong Kong	2,298		
Total Top 10 Nationalities	**160,309**	**Total Asian Immigration to United States**	**2,235,667**
Total Asian Immigration to United States	**172,174**		
Percent of Asians from the Top 10 Nationalities	**93.11**	**Percent of Asians from the Top 7 Nationalities**	**85.39**

* These nationalities appear on the top-10 list for each year.

Note: Values for Hong Kong were extracted by combining nationality and country of chargeability.

TABLE 7: Top 10 Asian Immigrant Nationalities, by Year (California)

1990		1991		1992		1993	
Philippines	25,684	Philippines	25,988	Vietnam	31,882	Philippine	27,263
Vietnam	17,009	Vietnam	18,776	Philippines	25,070	Vietnam	23,366
China	13,583	China	14,764	China	13,778	China	15,916
Korea	8,825	Korea	6,407	India	6,836	India	8,464
Laos	6,141	India	5,718	Laos	5,998	Korea	5,857
India	5,166	Laos	5,695	Korea	5,749	Laos	5,453
Taiwan	3,448	Taiwan	2,672	Taiwan	5,014	Taiwan	4,917
Cambodia	2,094	Hong Kong	2,655	Japan	4,082	Japan	2,414
Hong Kong	2,085	Japan	1,576	Hong Kong	2,791	Hong Kong	2,243
Indonesia	1,934	Pakistan	1,431	Indonesia	1,861	Pakistan	1,530
Total Top 10 Nationalities	**85,969**	**Total Top 10 Nationalities**	**85,682**	**Total Top 10 Nationalities**	**103,061**	**Total Top 10 Nationalities**	**97,423**
Total Asian Immigration to California	**93,561**	**Total Asian Immigration to California**	**92,554**	**Total Asian Immigration to California**	**109,677**	**Total Asian Immigration to California**	**103,114**
Percent of Asians from the Top 10 Nationalities	**91.89**	**Percent of Asians from the Top 10 Nationalities**	**92.58**	**Percent of Asians from the Top 10 Nationalities**	**93.97**	**Percent of Asians from the Top 10 Nationalities**	**94.48**

1994		1995		1996		1997	
Philippines	23,812	Philippines	22,473	Philippines	23,361	Philippines	21,730
China	19,270	Vietnam	14,916	China	14,068	Vietnam	14,558
Vietnam	12,301	China	12,336	Vietnam	11,516	China	14,178
India	6,963	India	6,568	India	7,697	India	7,940
Korea	4,894	Korea	4,780	Korea	4,397	Korea	3,987
Laos	4,138	Taiwan	2,788	Taiwan	3,040	Taiwan	2,338
Taiwan	3,127	Laos	2,299	Hong Kong	2,076	Pakistan	1,682
Japan	1,879	Hong Kong	1,995	Pakistan	1,657	Japan	1,524
Hong Kong	1,859	Pakistan	1,350	Fiji	1,548	Hong Kong	1,512
Pakistan	1,340	Japan	1,262	Laos	1,548	Fiji	1,320
Total Top 10 Nationalities	**79,583**	**Total Top 10 Nationalities**	**70,767**	**Total Top 10 Nationalities**	**70,908**	**Total Top 10 Nationalities**	**70,769**
Total Asian Immigration to California	**84,446**	**Total Asian Immigration to California**	**75,630**	**Total Asian Immigration to California**	**76,673**	**Total Asian Immigration to California**	**75,772**
Percent of Asians from the Top 10 Nationalities	**94.24**	**Percent of Asians from the Top 10 Nationalities**	**93.57**	**Percent of Asians from the Top 10 Nationalities**	**92.48**	**Percent of Asians from the Top 10 Nationalities**	**93.40**

1998		Total for 1990-1998	
Philippines	14,639	Philippines	210,020
China	13,625	Vietnam	148,991
India	6,604	China	131,518
Vietnam	4,667	India	61,956
Korea	3,786	Korea	48,682
Taiwan	1,720	Taiwan	29,064
Pakistan	1,499	Hong Kong	18,284
Japan	1,376		
Fiji	1,260	**Total Top 7 Nationalities***	**648,515**
Hong Kong	1,068		
Total Top 10 Nationalities	**50,244**	**Total Asian Immigration to California**	**766,327**
Total Asian Immigration to California	**54,900**		
Percent of Asians from the Top 10 Nationalities	**91.52**	**Percent of Asians from the Top 7 Nationalities**	**84.63**

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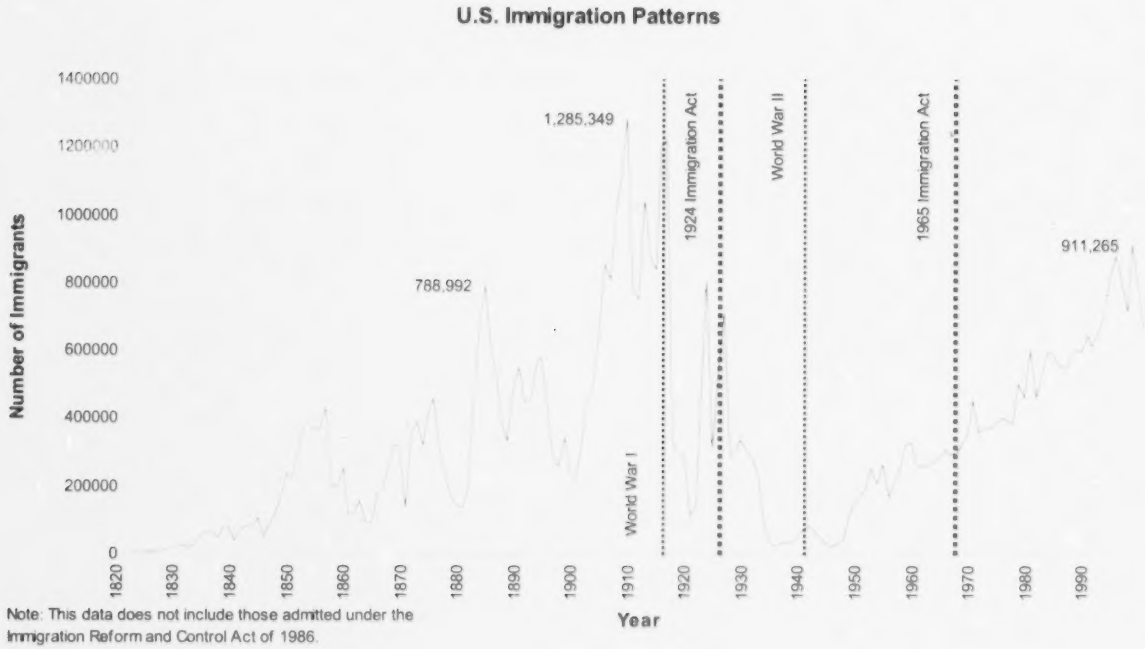
* These nationalities appear on the top-10 list for each year.

Note: Values for Hong Kong were extracted by combining nationality and country of chargeability.

TABLE 8: Mean Age by Gender

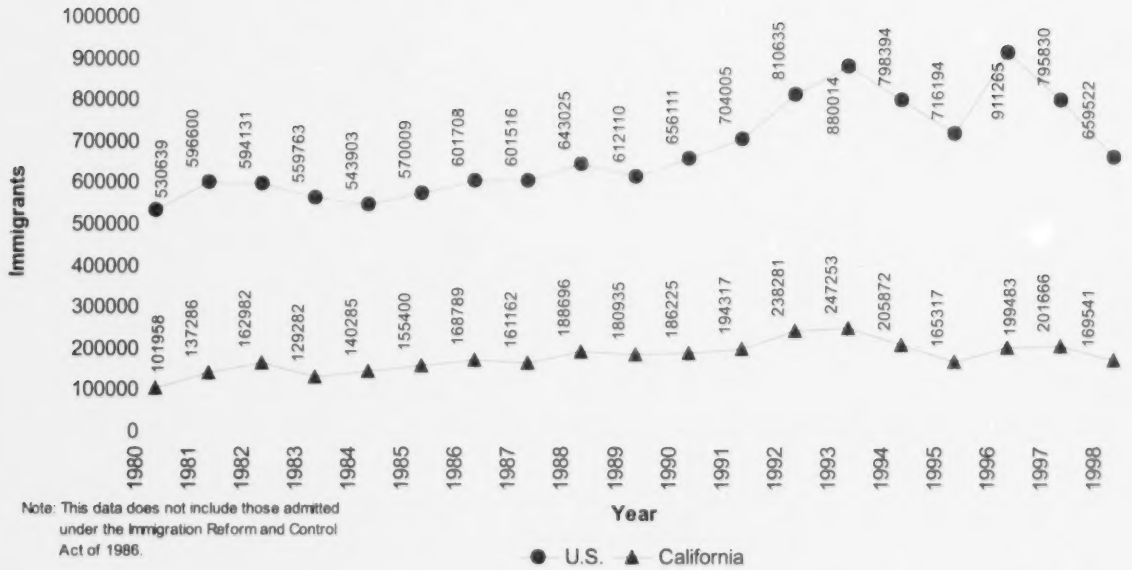
	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	Mean Age
Male, U.S.	28.75	28.99	28.42	28.66	28.91	28.62	28.95	29.54	29.35	28.91
Female, U.S.	30.41	30.79	30.23	30.35	30.76	30.38	30.80	31.25	31.12	30.68
Male, California	30.21	30.45	28.38	28.32	28.69	29.19	28.80	29.95	30.46	29.38
Female, California	32.12	32.43	30.46	30.43	31.21	31.65	31.52	32.39	33.14	31.71
Asian Male, U.S.	29.92	30.24	30.64	30.97	31.46	30.79	31.67	32.53	31.76	31.11
Asian Female, U.S.	31.80	32.15	32.22	32.24	32.58	31.46	32.05	32.35	31.26	32.01
Asian Male, California	30.93	31.57	31.54	31.23	32.38	32.00	32.84	33.43	33.06	32.11
Asian Female, California	33.05	33.67	33.28	33.15	34.24	33.47	33.99	34.03	33.51	33.60

FIGURE 1



Note: This data does not include those admitted under the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986.

FIGURE 2



Note: This data does not include those admitted under the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986.

FIGURE 3

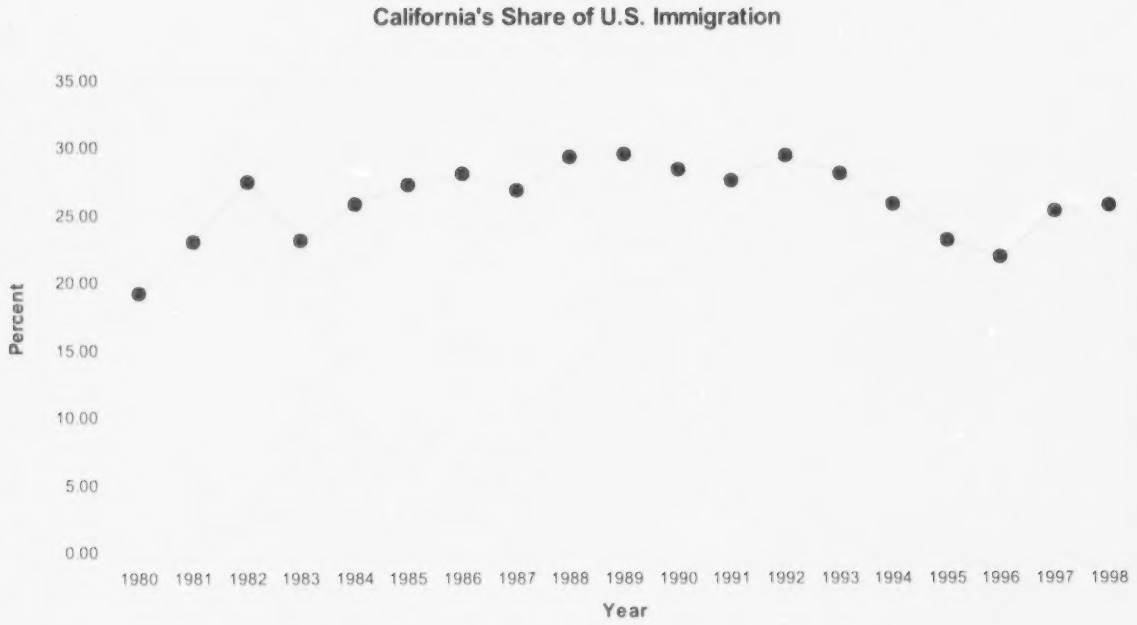
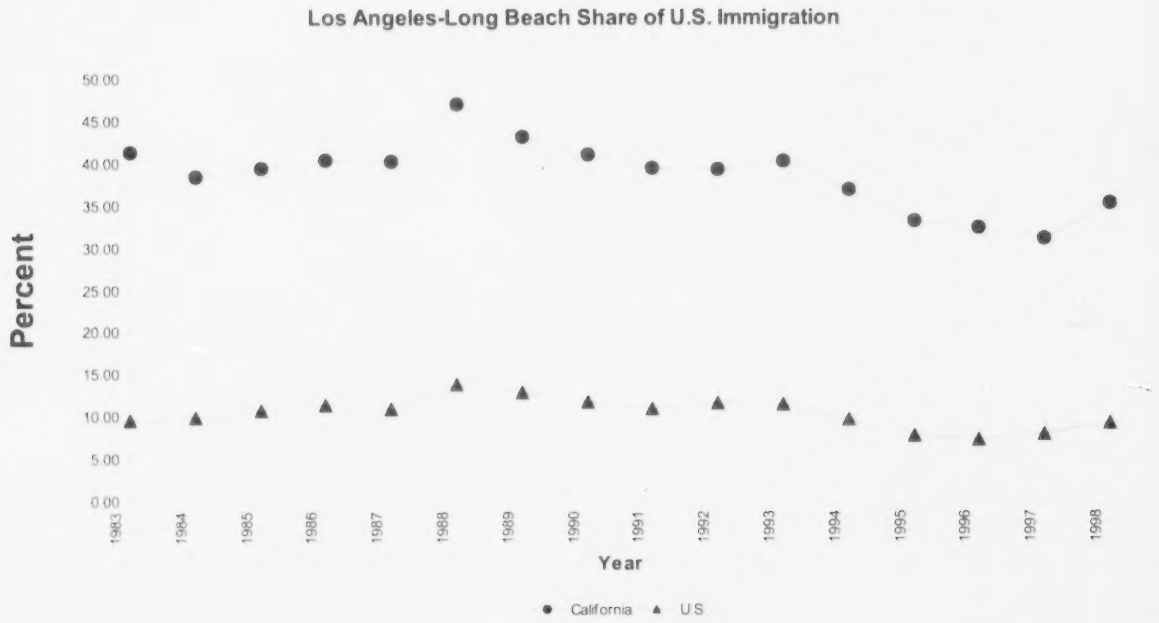


FIGURE 4



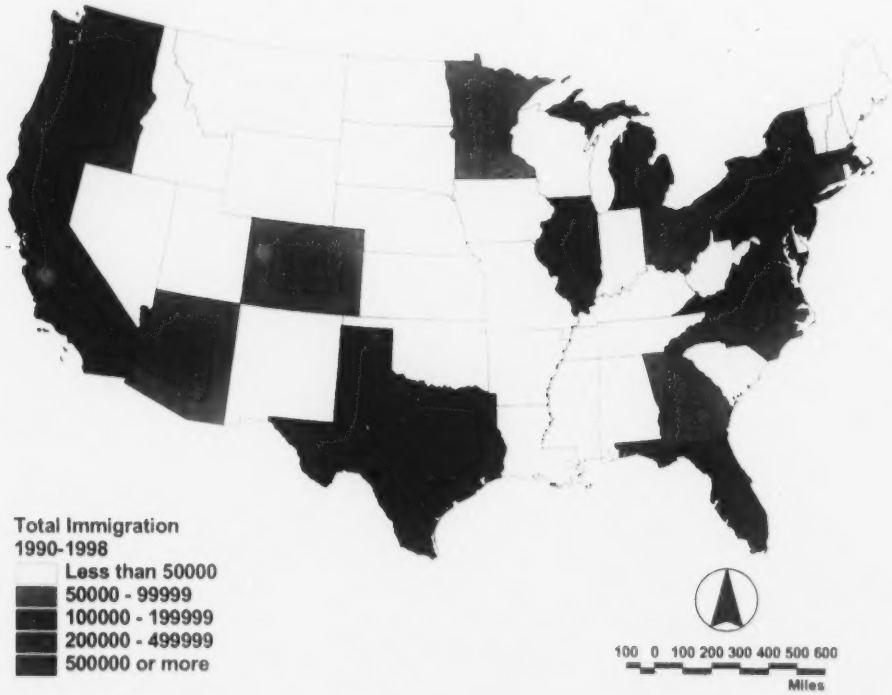


FIGURE 5

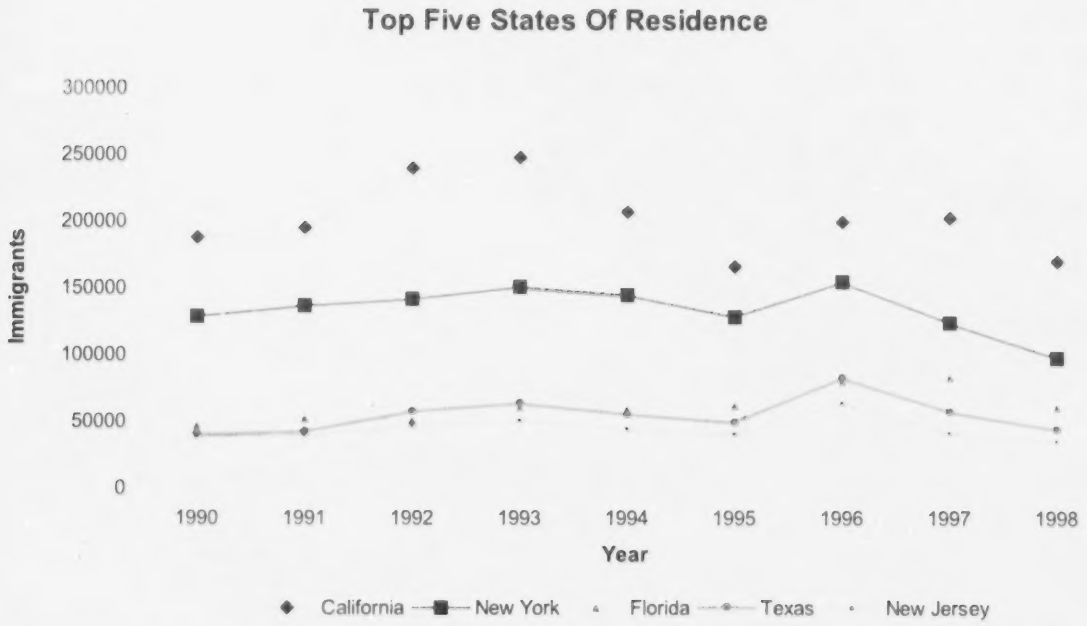


FIGURE 6

FIGURE 7

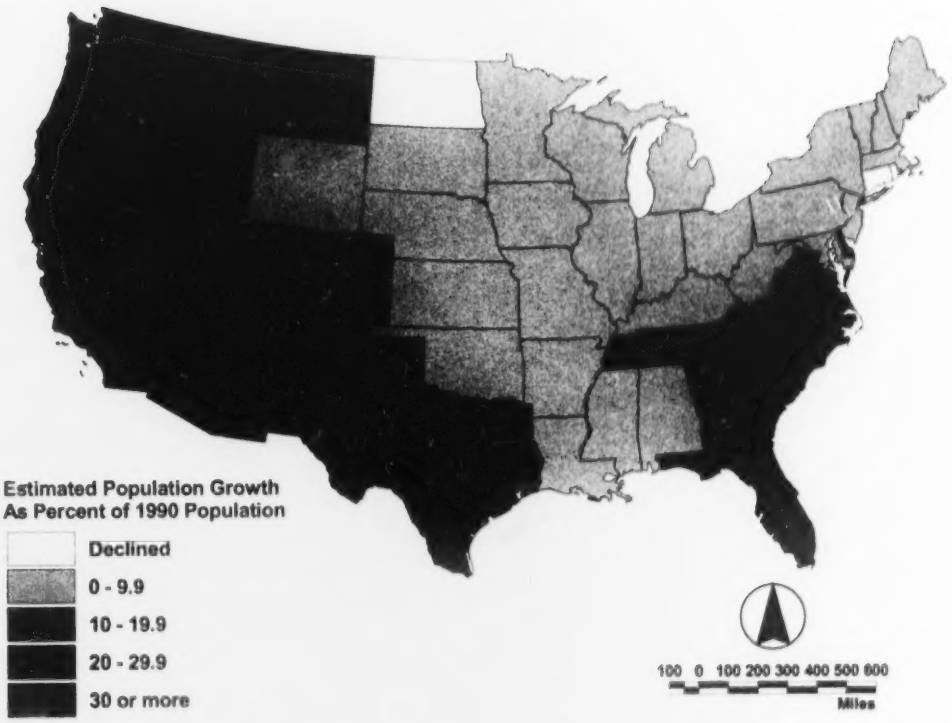


FIGURE 8

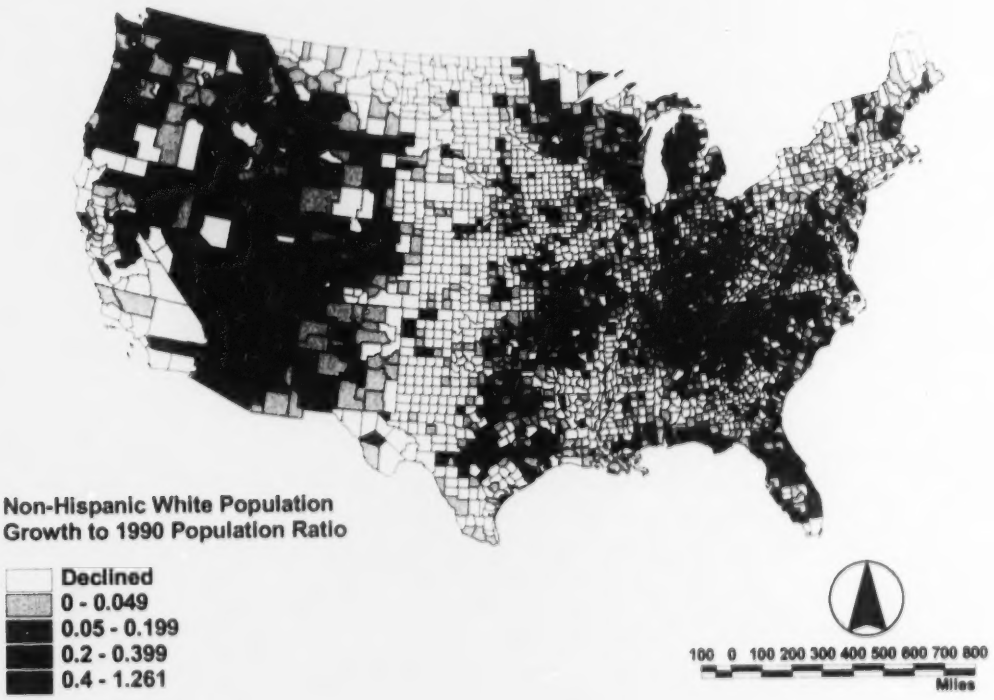


FIGURE 9

FIGURE 10

FIGURE 11

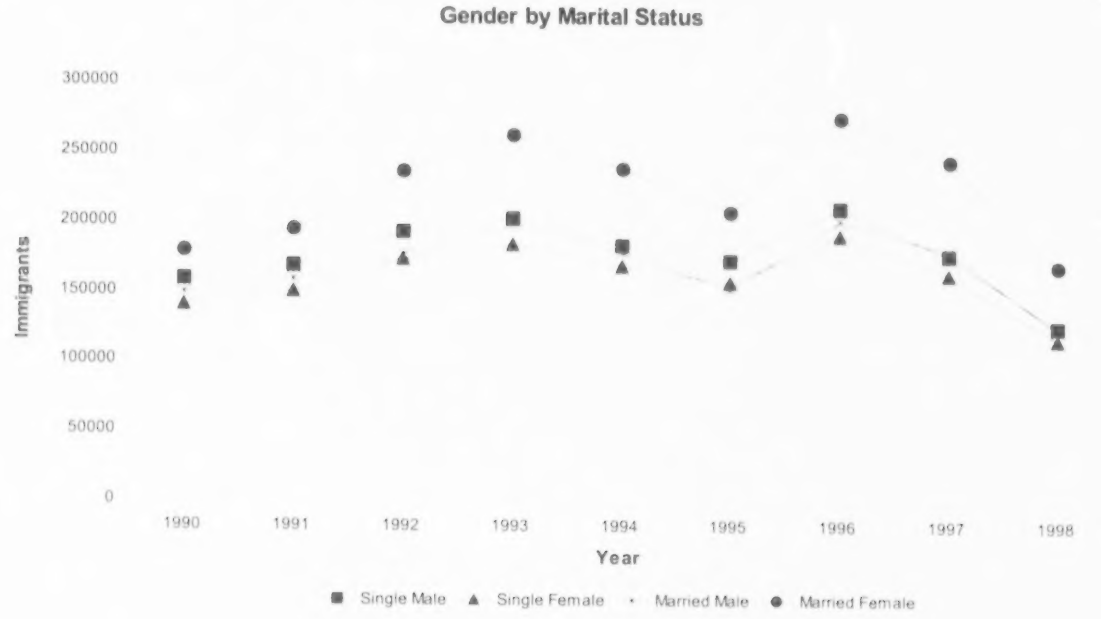


FIGURE 12

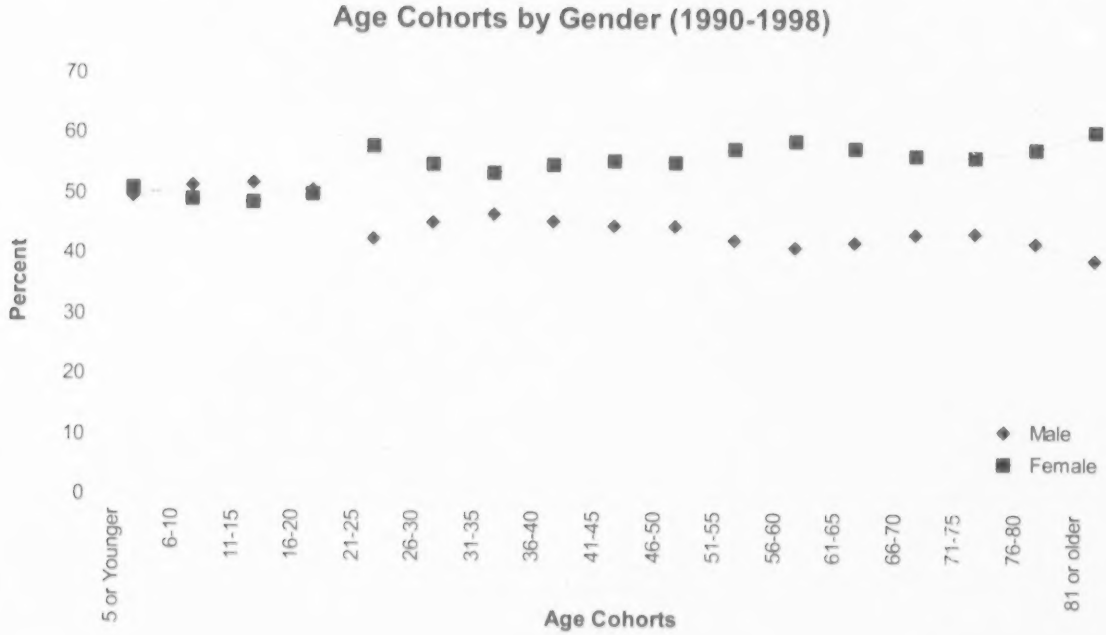


FIGURE 13

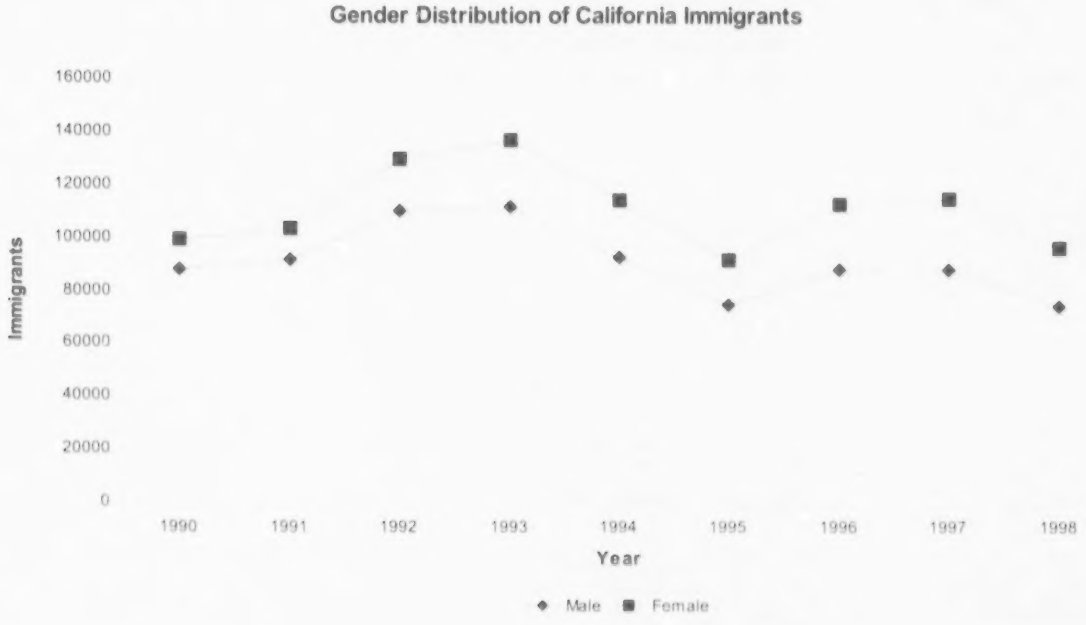


FIGURE 14

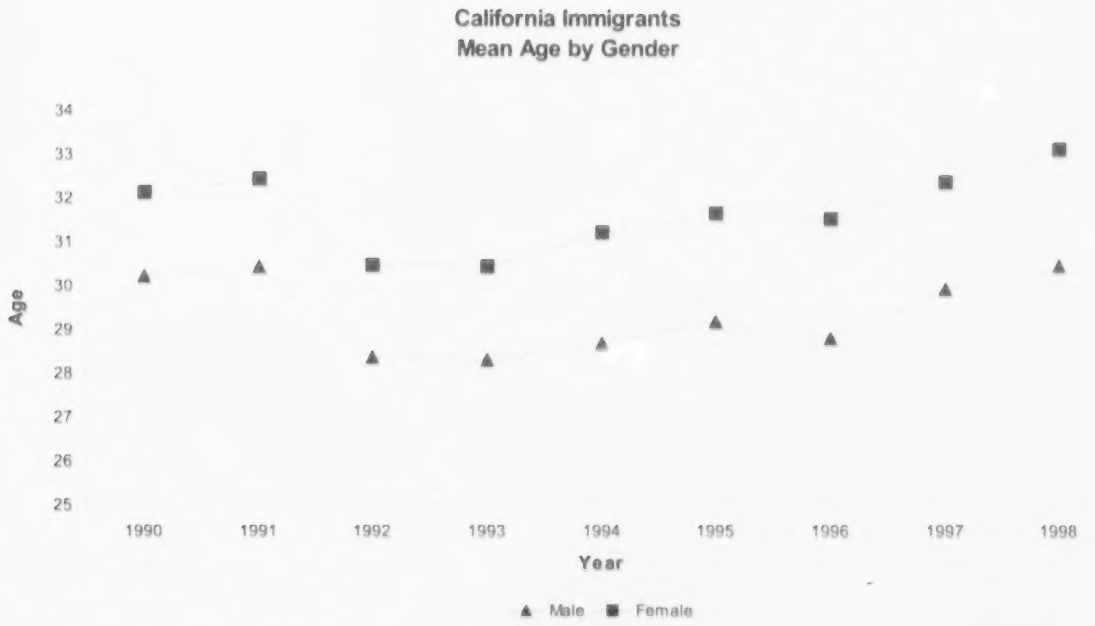


FIGURE 15

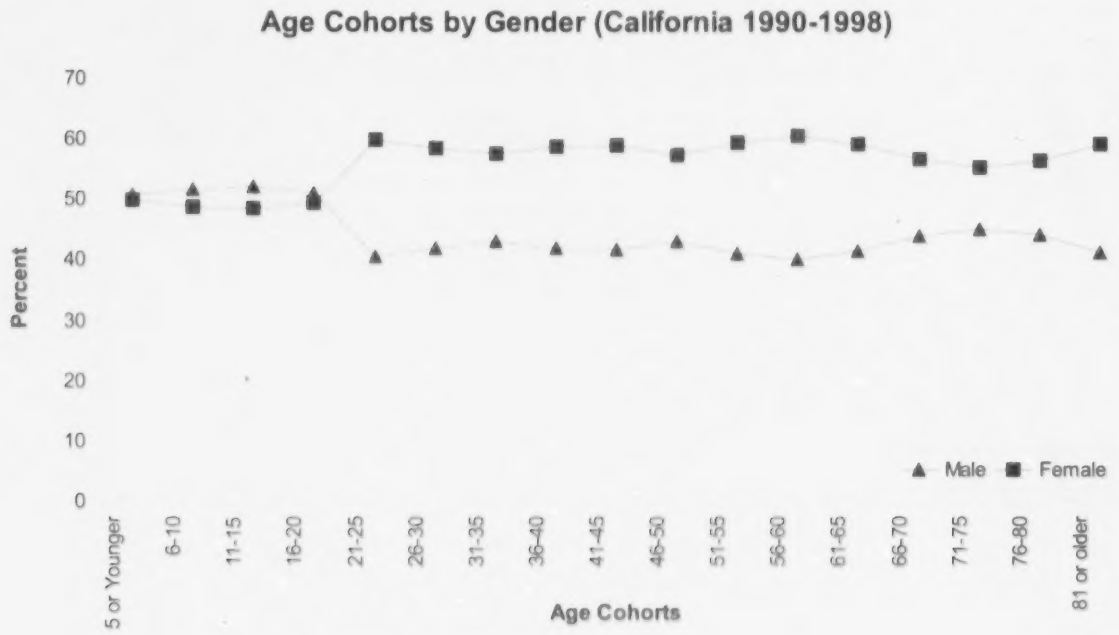


FIGURE 16

FIGURE 17

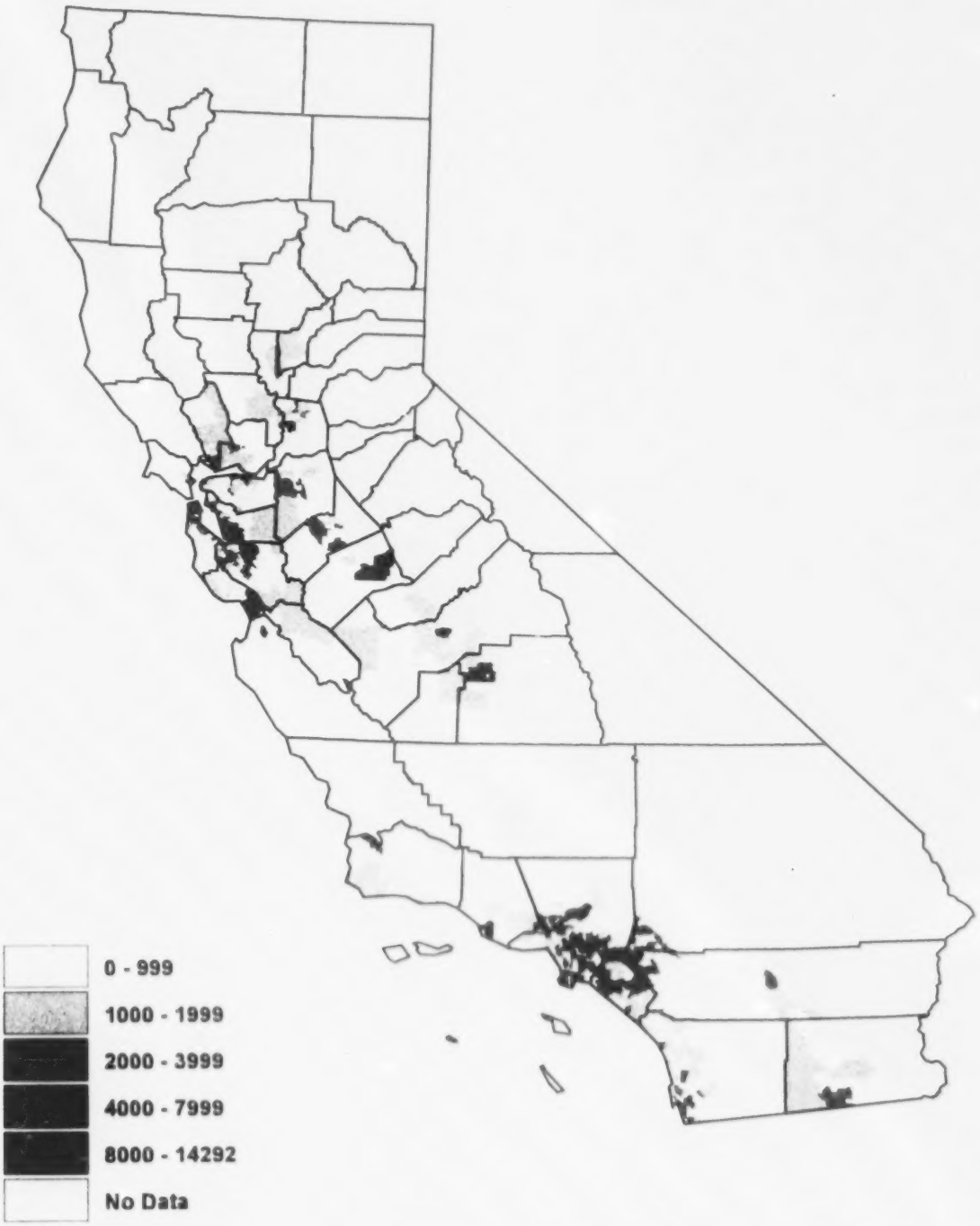


FIGURE 18

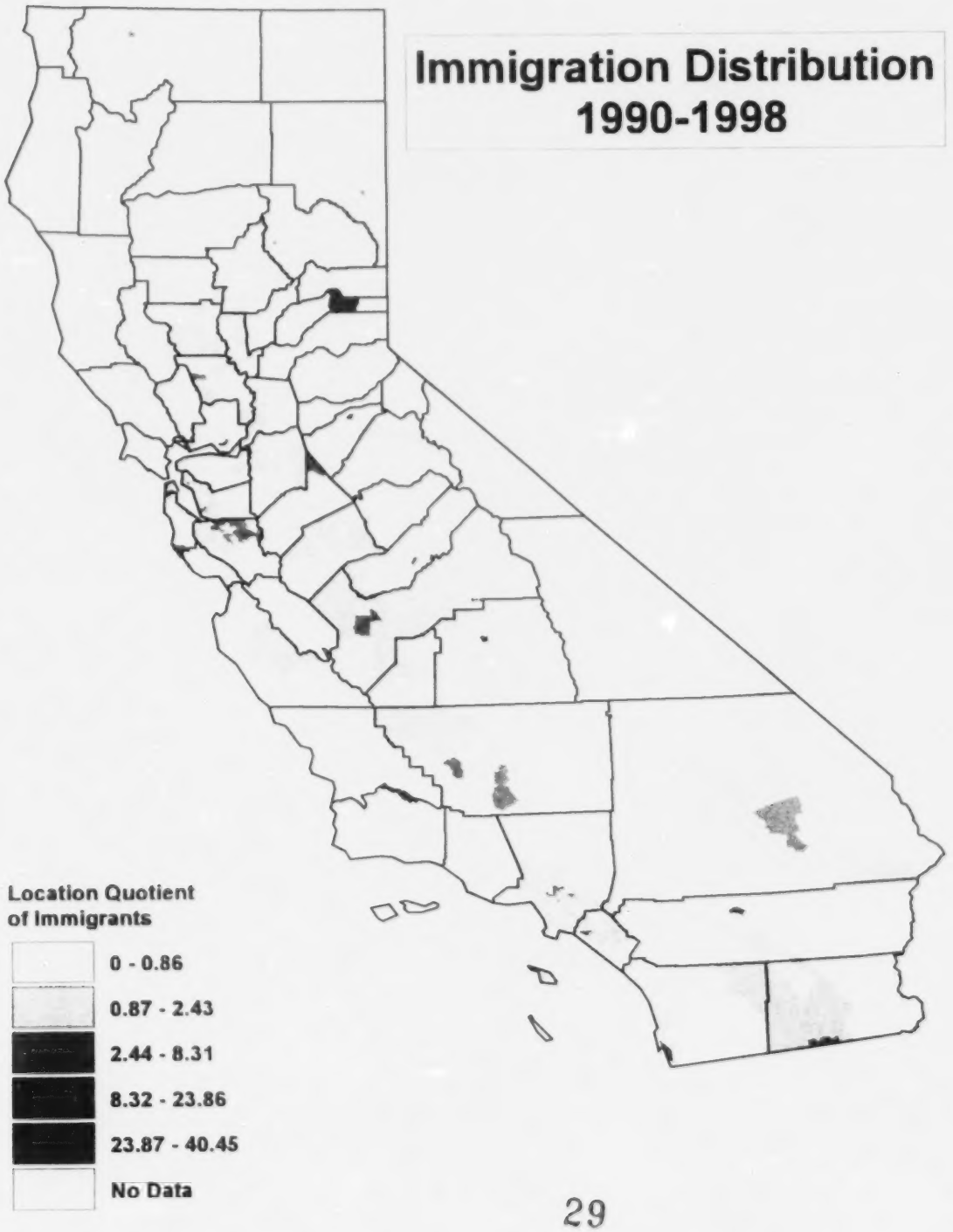

Immigration Distribution
1990-1998
Location Quotient
of Immigrants
0 - 0.86
0.87 - 2.43
2.44 - 8.31
8.32 - 23.86
23.87 - 40.45
No Data

FIGURE 19

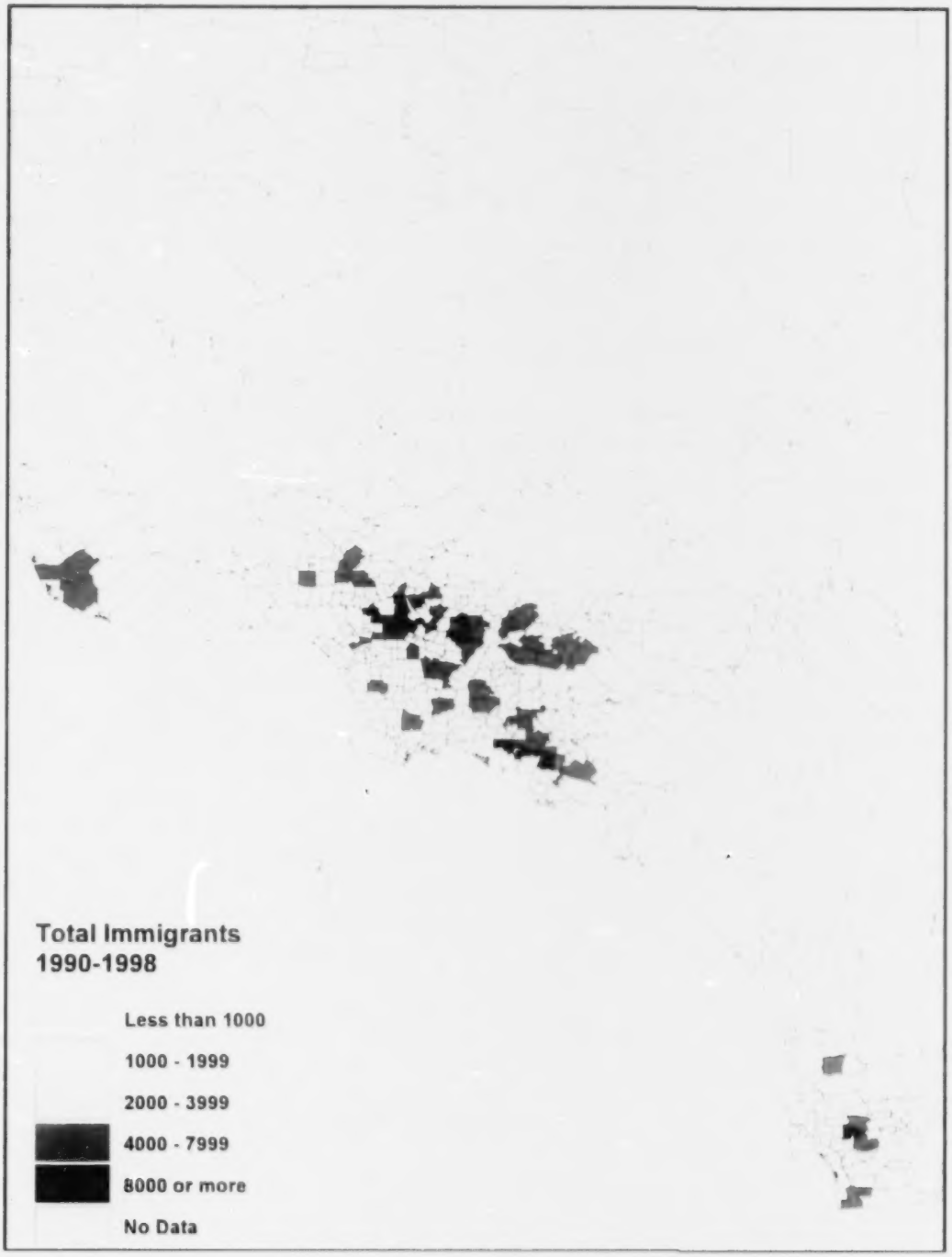

Total Immigrants
1990-1998
Less than 1000
1000 - 1999
2000 - 3999
4000 - 7999
8000 or more
No Data

FIGURE 20

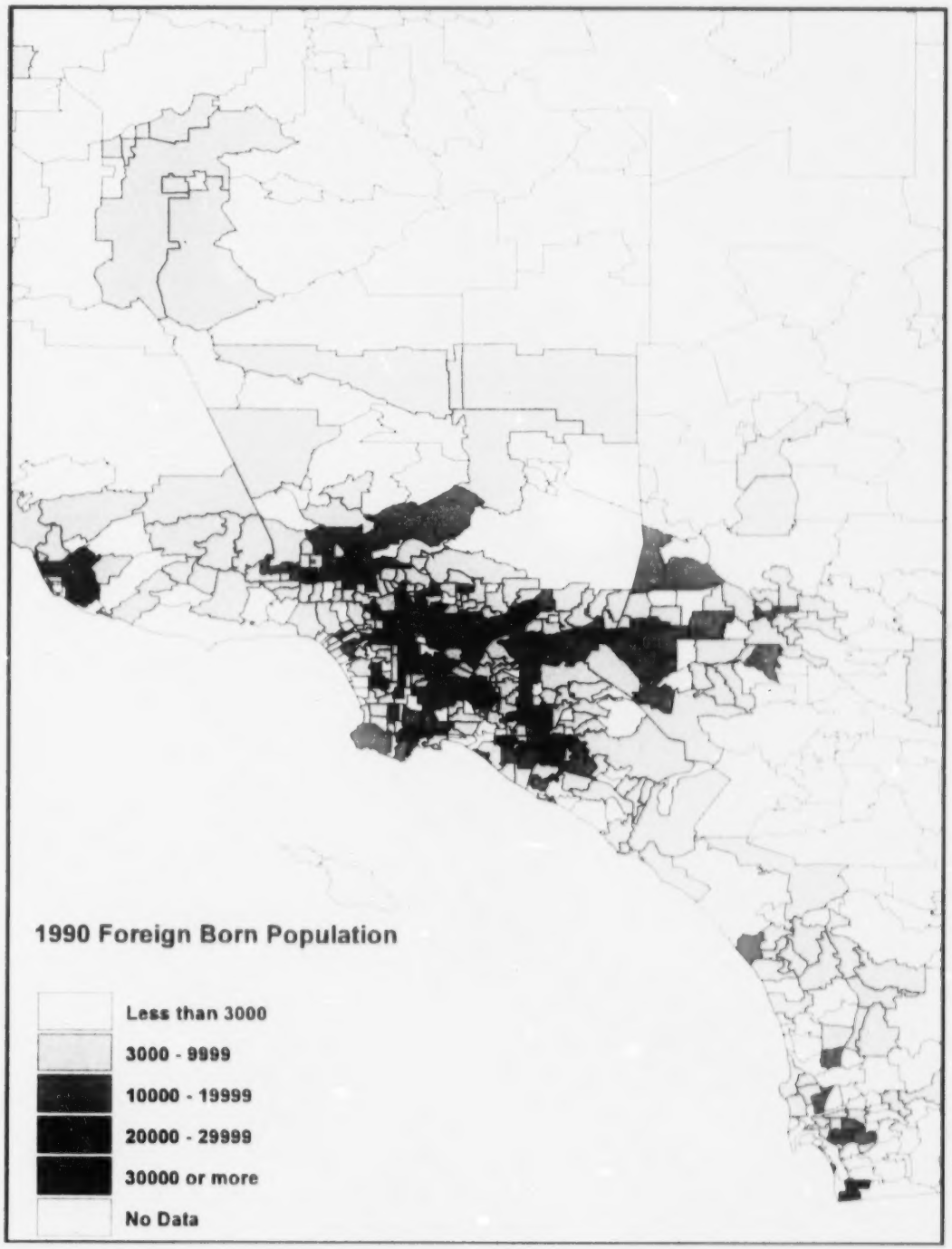

1990 Foreign Born Population
Less than 3000
3000 - 9999
10000 - 19999
20000 - 29999
30000 or more
No Data

FIGURE 21

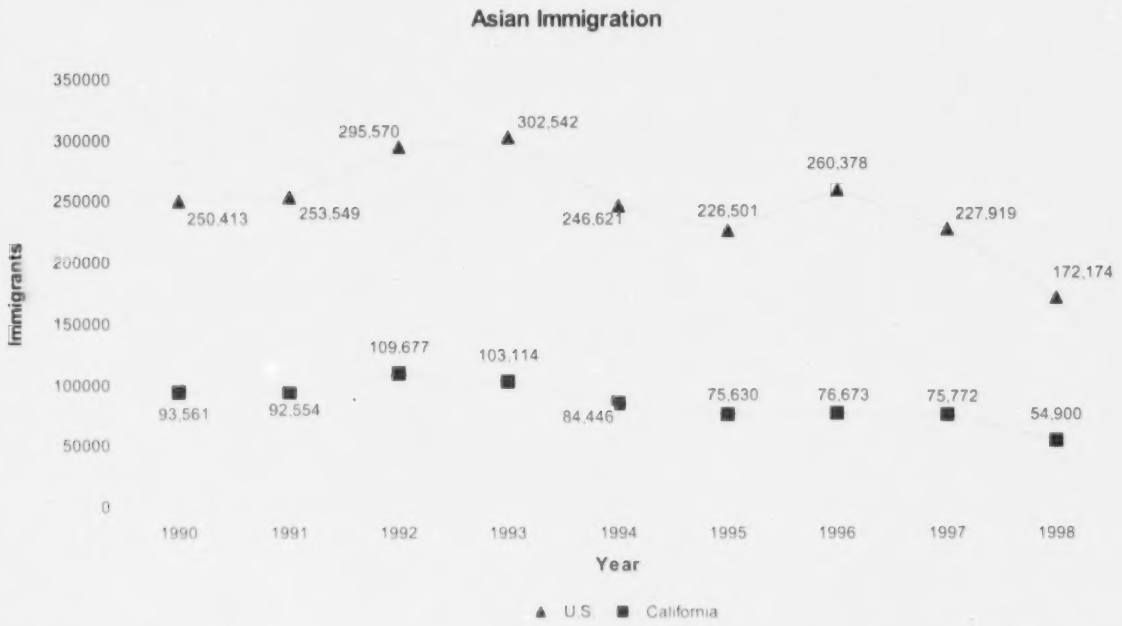


FIGURE 22

FIGURE 23

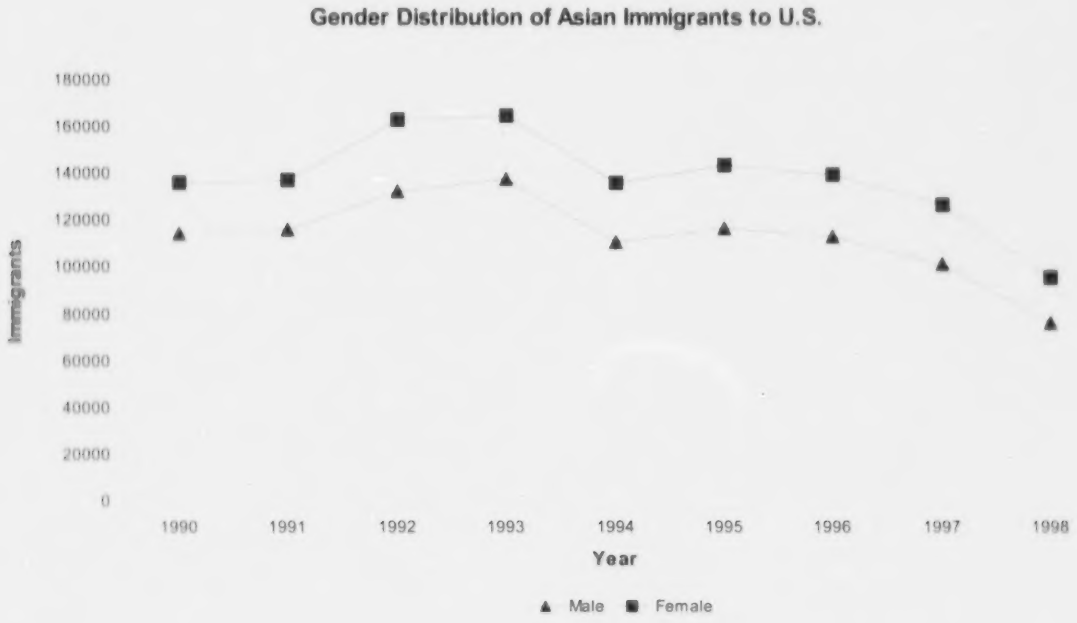


FIGURE 24

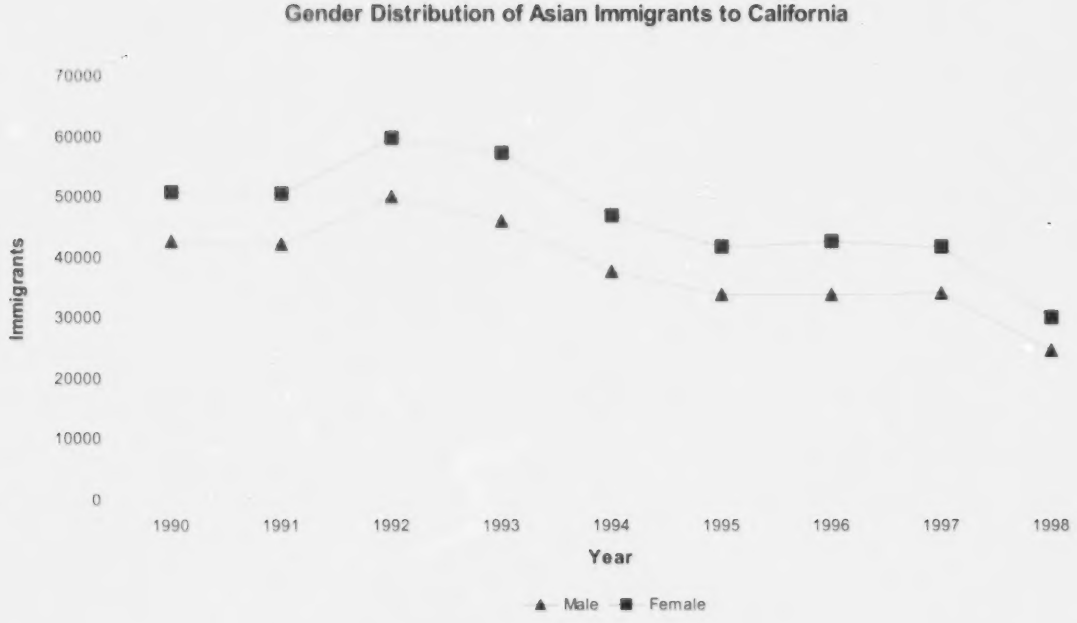


FIGURE 25

FIGURE 26

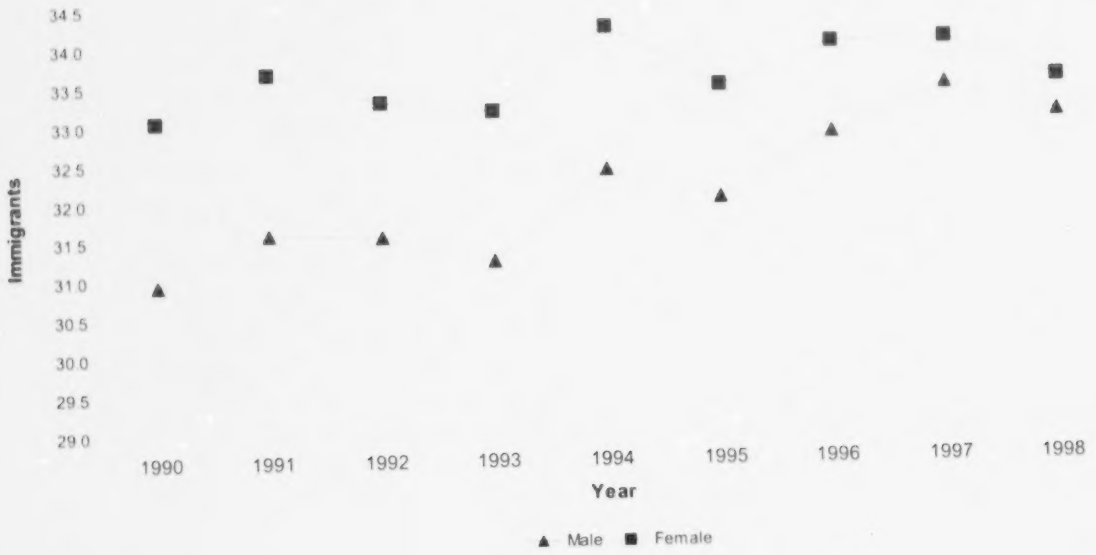


FIGURE 27

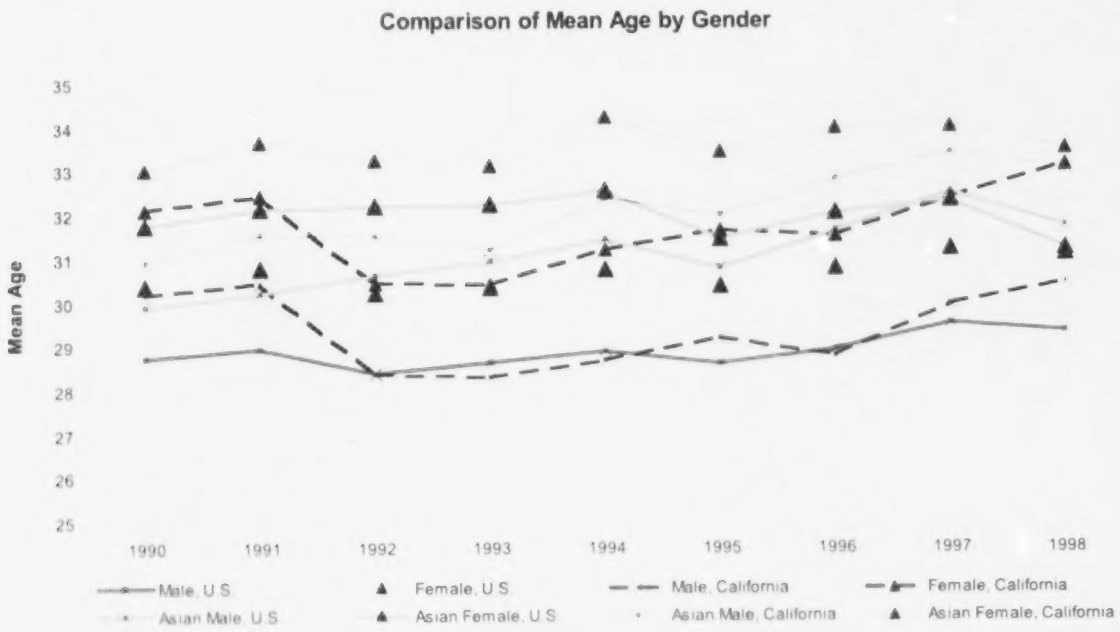


FIGURE 28

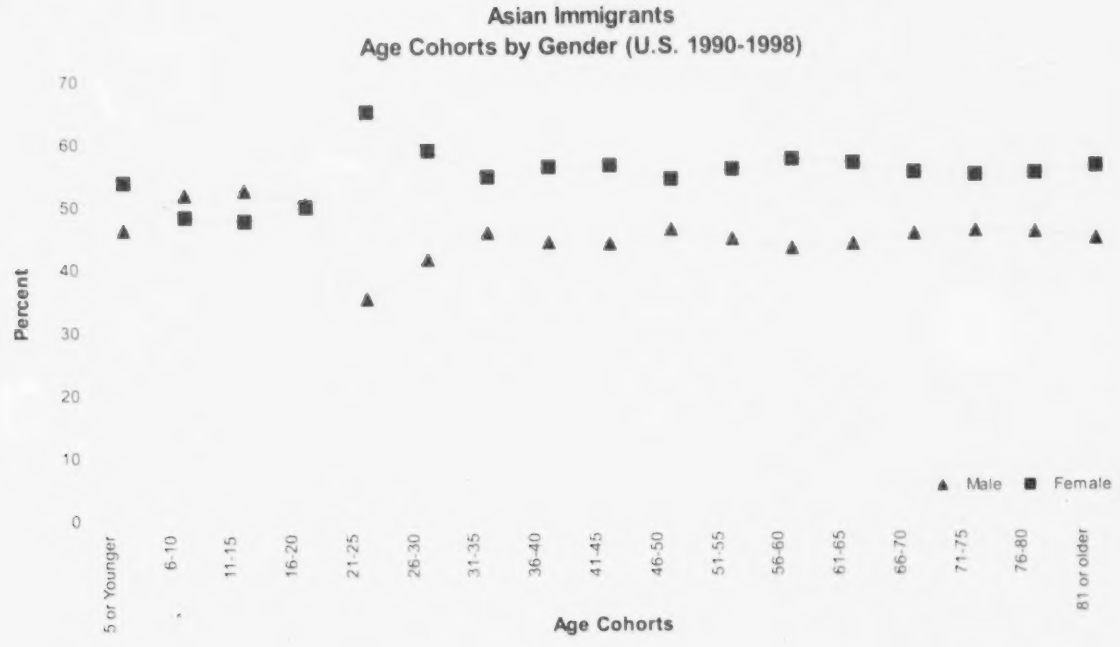


FIGURE 29

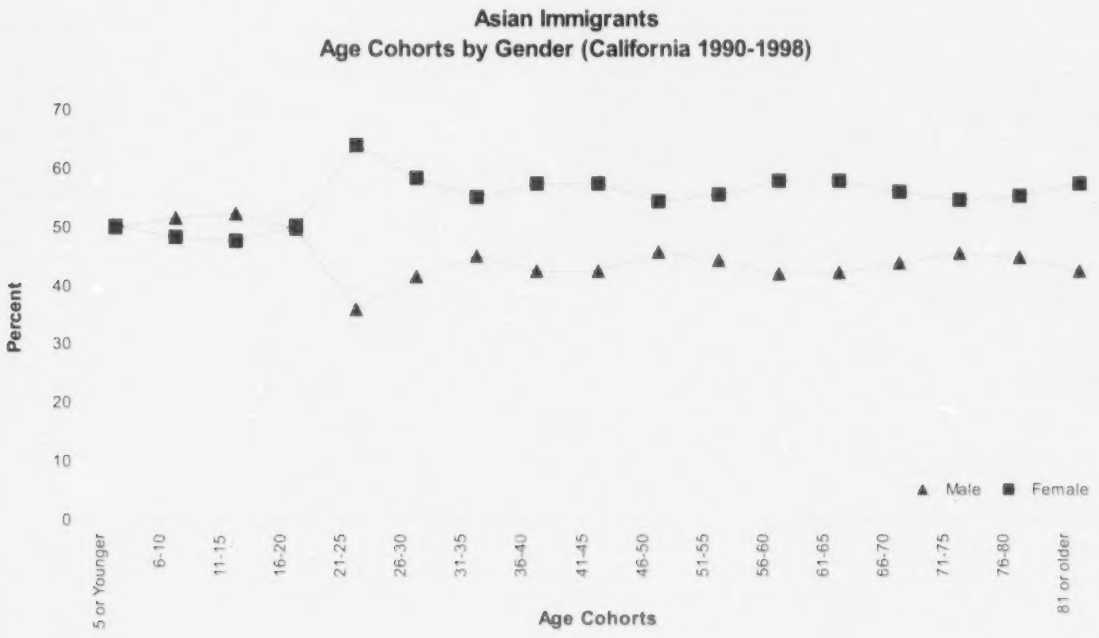


FIGURE 30

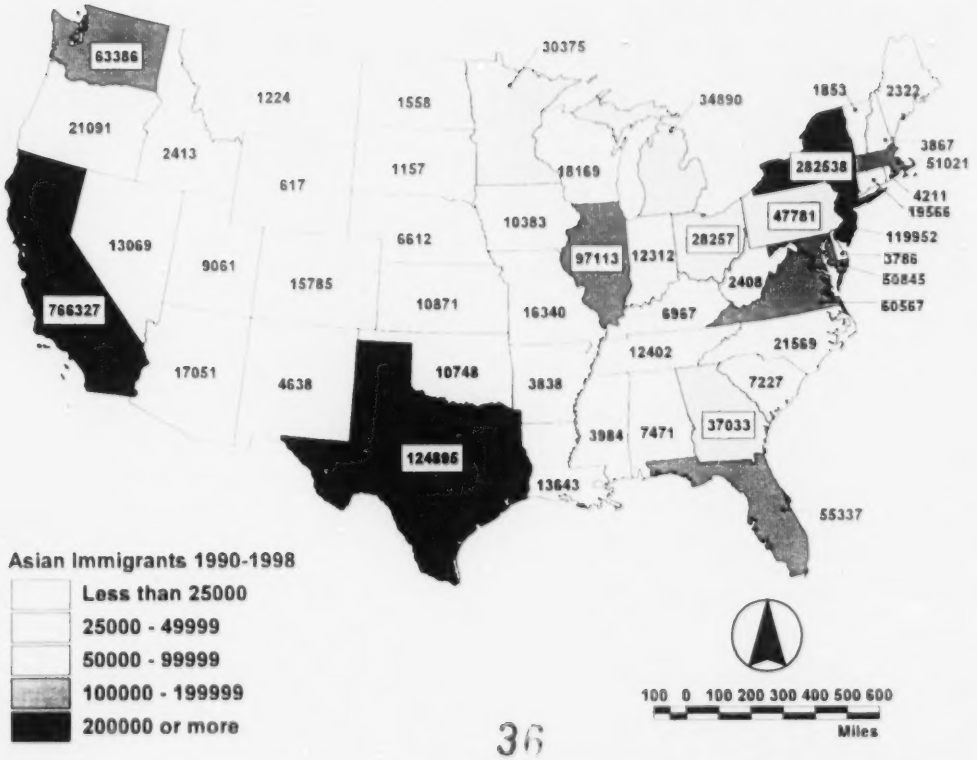


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FIGURE 31

Asian Immigrants
1990-1998
Less than 500
500 - 999
1000 - 2499
3000 - 4999
5000 or more

FIGURE 32

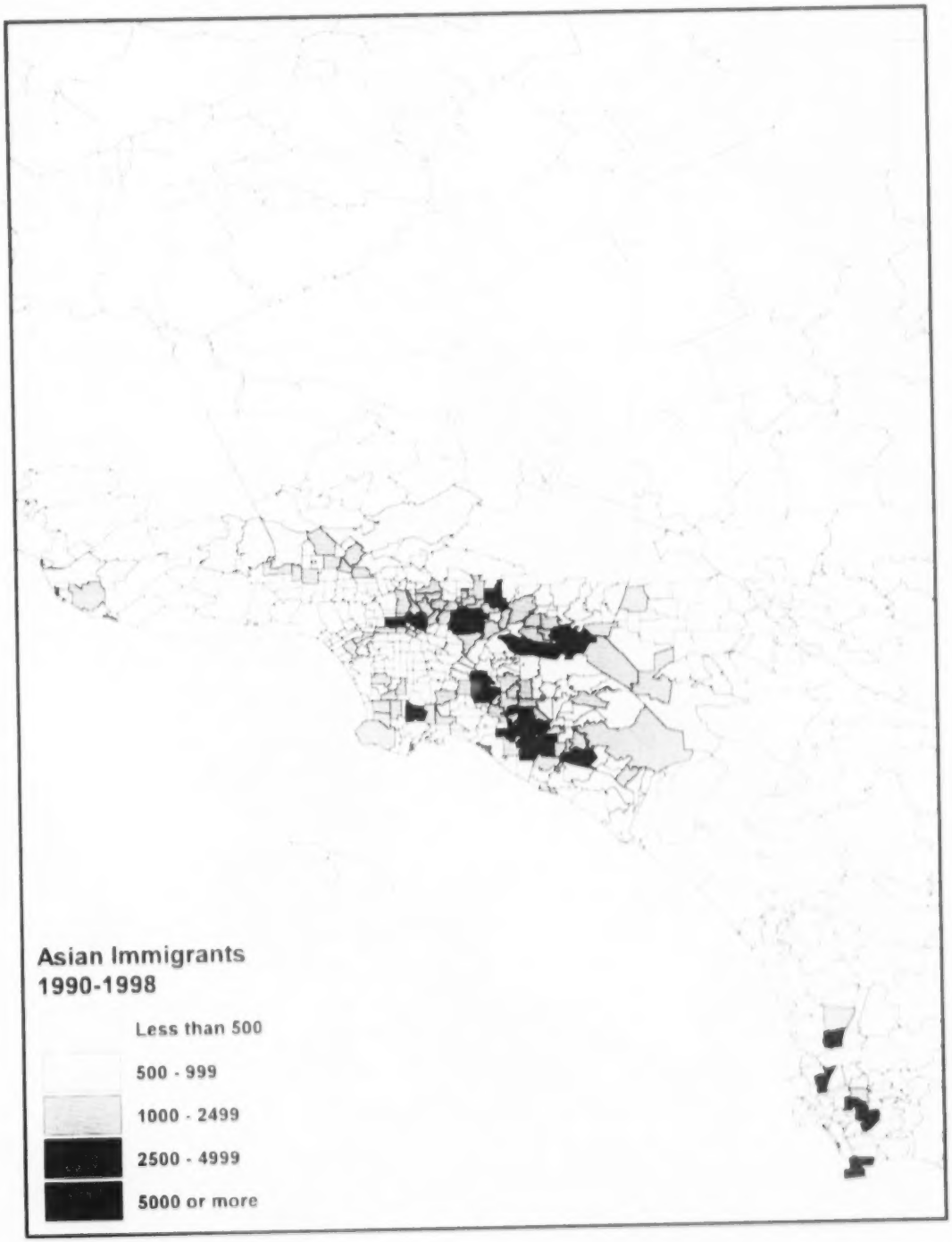
Asian Immigrants
1990-1998
Less than 500
500 - 999
1000 - 2499
2500 - 4999
5000 or more

FIGURE 33

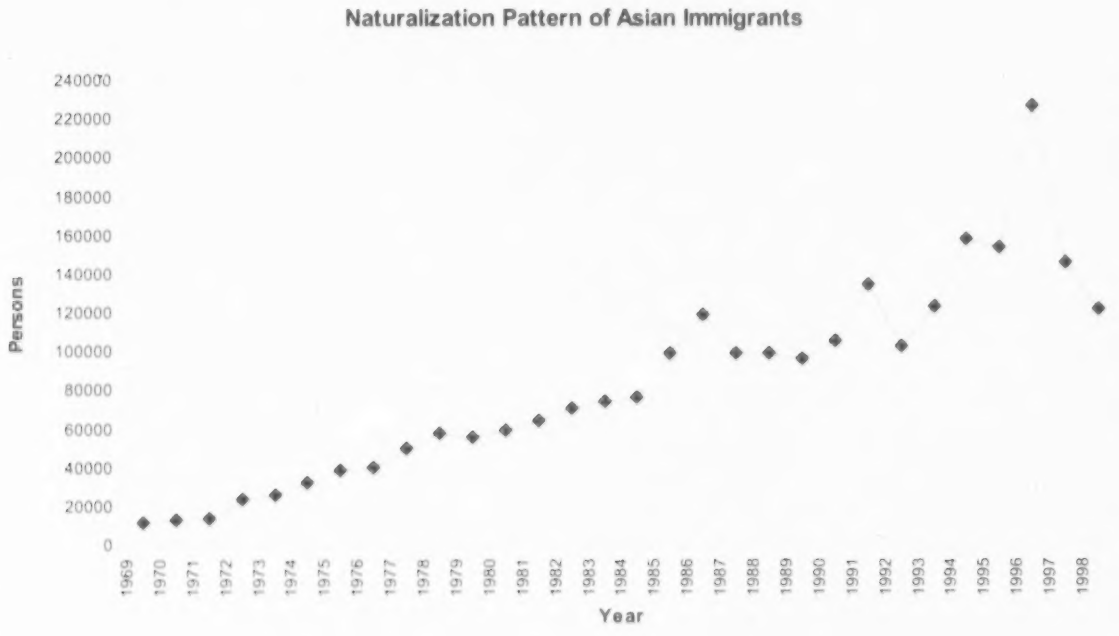

FIGURE 34